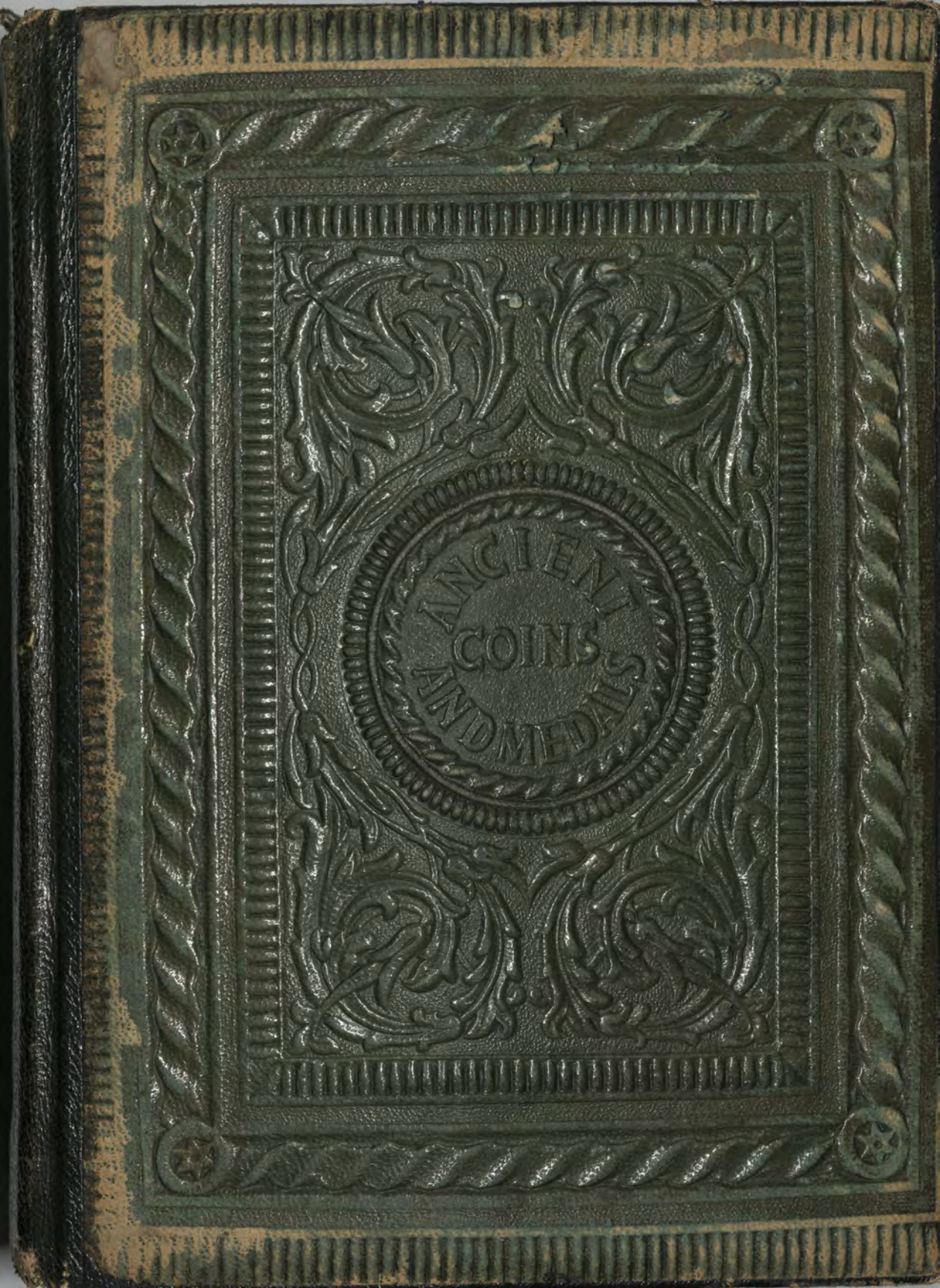
ANCIENT
COINS
AND MEDALS

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AND MEDALS:

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF COINING MONEY IN GREECE AND HER COLONIES; ITS PROGRESS WITH THE EXTENSION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE; AND ITS DECLINE WITH THE FALL OF THAT POWER.

By Henry Noel Humphreys,

AUTHOR OF "THE COINS OF ENGLAND."

ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS FAC-SIMILE EXAMPLES IN ACTUAL RELIEF, AND IN THE METALS OF THE RESPECTIVE COINS.

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PREFACE.

THE unexpectedly favourable reception of my work entitled the "Coins of England," which in one small volume gave an outline of the coinage of the English monarchy, from the earliest times to the present, has induced me to attempt a similar condensation of all that is known respecting the coins of ancient nations, from the origin of the art of coinage to the fall of the Roman empire. I have been farther stimulated to this attempt by a recent invention, by means of which *metallic impressions* of coins are produced, in a form which I have found means to apply to the illustration of my work. [illegible] positive facsimile of the coins is very essential in a work on the coins

The Author has to apologise for a few typographical errors which have occurred, notwithstanding the greatest care in the correction of the press. The following list will, however, enable the reader to correct most of them :—

Page 5, line 21, for (high the), read (the high). Page 33, note ‡, ΡΦΛΟ should be ΦΙΛΟ. Page 34, line 6, for Lycos, read Lukos. Page 39, for AMYNT, read AMΥNT. Page 50, line 34, for ΑΓΑΘΟΚΓΕΣ ΒΑΣΙΓΕΩΣ, read ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Page 75, line 7, for ΣΩΤΕΡΟΣ, read (ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ). Page 84, line 18, for "conqueror of kings," read "the mighty king." Page 105, for HMYCY ACCAPION, read (HMICϒ ACCAPION). Page 110, lines 31, 32, and 33, in each case, for *υ*, read *ν*. Page 145, line 3, for Æculapius, read Æsculapius. Page 152, line 12, for Divos, read Divus, also in description of Plate 7. Page 154, line 11, for ΚΛΙCΑΡΟΣ, read ΚΑΙCΑΡΟΣ. Page 161, note ‡, for BRITANNAE, read BRITANNIAE. Page 162, line 23, for ΑΫΤΟΚΡΑΓΩΡ, read ΑΫΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ. Page 163, line 30, for ΓΣΡΜ(*ανικος*), read ΓΕΡΜ(*ανικος*). Page 164, line 33, for *τράωεζα*, read *τραπεζα*. Page 169, lines 15 and 16, for Γ, in three places, read Τ. Page 176, line 3, for expresses, read express. Page 178, lines 25, 26, and 27, for (o), in two places, read (us), and for ΙΕΣΩΣ, read ΙΗΣΟΥΣ. Page 179, lines 4 and 8, for Constantinopoli, read Constantinopolis. Page 180, lines 20 and 28, for Nostri, read Nostrorum, and for Christiano, read Christiana. Page 198, line 3, for AVG(ustis), read AVG(ustus). Page 199, line 1, for (Argentes), read A(rgentum), and for RO(ma), read RO(mæ). Page 199, last line, for Aedilia, and Ædilian, read Aedilitia, and Ædilitian.

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PREFACE.

THE unexpectedly favourable reception of my work entitled the "Coins of England," which in one small volume gave an outline of the coinage of the English monarchy, from the earliest times to the present, has induced me to attempt a similar condensation of all that is known respecting the coins of ancient nations, from the origin of the art of coinage to the fall of the Roman empire. I have been farther stimulated to this attempt by a recent invention, by means of which *metallic impressions* of coins are produced, in a form which I have found means to apply to the illustration of my work. This positive facsimile of the coins is very essential in a work on the coins of classical antiquity, as no modern engraving or other imitation of some of the finest Greek coins of the best periods, can adequately convey an idea of their excessive beauty, or the sculptural grandeur of their general treatment. But I have not confined my illustrations in relief exclusively to coins of the finest periods, I have also deemed it advantageous to exhibit a few of the rude early coins, by the same process, in order to convey a more accurate idea than could have been afforded by means of engravings, of the nature of the progress which took place from the rude beginnings of the primitive artists to the exquisite productions of later periods.

In the treatment of each branch of this extensive subject I have necessarily been very brief, the necessity for which will easily be understood, when it is considered that every separate department of numismatography has formed the subject of ponderous volumes, which in the aggregate amount to some *thousands;* and these have greatly increased since Lipsius, in 1801, published his "Bibliotheca Nummaria" (see page 7).

This consideration, I presume, absolves me also from the necessity of citing the original authority, for every fact now becomes the common property of all students of the science. Indeed such a list of references would occupy

as much space as the text itself, and, as in some recent archæological works, the foot notes might have become the most bulky portion of the volume. Count Borghesi, in his preface to a recent numismatic work, has condemned such an array of authorities for facts now generally known and accepted, remarking, at the same time, that books are frequently so cited, the title-pages of which have been the only portion consulted.

I shall content myself, therefore, with the general statement that I have consulted a very large portion of the best works upon the subject, to very many of which I am deeply indebted, especially to all the numismatic periodicals which have arisen during the last fifteen years, in which it would be impossible to cite the names of all the authors of separate articles. The valuable additions to numismatic science contributed to these new periodical works, in England, France, Belgium, Italy, Denmark, &c., have never been condensed into a general work on the subject; and mine is, therefore, the first attempt to perform this task.

My general plan has been to bring together recent discoveries and hypotheses, and, by actual comparison with all the large collections of coins within my reach, so to amalgamate new views with the facts previously known, as to enable me to form, from their combination, and the result of my own experience, a continuous narrative of the rise and progress of the art of coinage. In this attempt I believe my previous inexperience has given me some advantages over the long practised numismatist, inasmuch as many things appear interesting to me as novelties, which have lost their charm to the older numismatist, from being too familiar; I therefore may communicate many facts to the general reader which I have no doubt will appear as interesting to him as they have been to me, whilst one more deeply versed in the intricacies of the science would have deemed them too well known to require repetition. This view must serve as my excuse for undertaking the development of a subject so intricate and difficult, on which, however, I have spared neither time or labour.

H. N. H.

ANCIENT COINS.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

IT is my intention in the present volume to attempt a sketch of the origin of *coined* money, and its progress among ancient nations. I need not now repeat that coins are among the most interesting monuments that time has spared to us, as records and landmarks of many stages of early civilization. Their study cannot fail to produce to the investigator a rich harvest of information; recalling, in the most vivid manner, a multitude of striking facts and incidents, of which they are such authentic, and sometimes the only remaining, witnesses. One of the objects of the present volume will be to point out the progress of ancient art by their means, especially sculpture; of the gradual development, progress, and decline of which, they form such an accurate and beautiful series of illustrations. The author of the "Catalogue of the Illuminated Manuscripts of the Dukes of Burgundy," in the royal collection of Brussels, ingeniously observes, that the exquisite devices on ancient coins, are to sculpture, on a larger scale, what the illuminated miniatures of the manuscripts of the middle ages are to the large pictures and frescoes of their period;* and if this be so, we may as effectually trace the rise and progress of Grecian sculpture in all its exquisite phases, in a small cabinet of coins—as by travelling over Europe, to seek the Venus at Florence, the Apollo, and Laocoon in the Vatican. The Flora and Capuan Venus at Naples, the treasures of the Louvre in Paris, or those of the Glyptotheca, at Munich.

But other and very various information may be derived from the study of coins, and I shall, therefore, in this introductory chapter, attempt to point out the general interest and importance of numismatic science—giving a slight sketch of the progress of the study, and its present state. The first and most important feature, showing the utility of the study of coins, is the light thereby thrown upon history; the chronology of many dynasties having been settled by their aid; for most of the coins of the kingdoms which rose upon the ruins of the empire of Alexander the Great, have been found to bear *dates*, calculated from the foundation of each state. Vaillant, in 1681,† in his history of the Seleucidan Kings of Syria illustrated by their coins, set the first example of making this important use of them, and was soon followed by others in the same path. But if the Greek coins furnish to history dates and even names which would otherwise have been irretrievably lost, the

* "La miniature des MSS. est a la peinture ce que la numismatique est a la sculpture de marbre."

† John Huttichius and Vico had, above a century previously, illustrated the lives of the Roman emperors, with their portraits taken from coins, but had not used them to supply fresh historical information like Vaillant.

Roman series offers a succession of metallic sculptures, accompanied by inscriptions, recording such mighty occurrences in the world's history as the conquest of Egypt, the conquest of Judea, the conquest of Britain, &c. &c.

Coins thus rendered monumental must be regarded as among the most striking historic records that exist, a fact fully felt by Gibbon when he stated, in his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," that "were every other record destroyed, the travels of Hadrian might be traced by his coins alone." In fact, they bear to all posterity the names of twenty provinces, should every other record of them disappear. The Romans themselves felt the importance of coins as a means of recording important events, and even Theodoric, the Goth, when seated on the throne of the Cæsars, did not fail to perceive their importance as is shown in the following curious passage in the work of his historian Cassiodorus. In alluding to one of the periodical *liberalities* or distributions of money to the populace, this Prince is made to say:—"With the assistance of coins you teach posterity the events of my reign."*

We need not, after this express declaration of a cotemporary, be astonished at finding the battles, the triumphs, and the alliances of the Romans commemorated on their coins, nor doubt their authenticity when we meet with them. In modern times the knowledge of this interesting and valuable Roman custom has not taught us its imitation, though men have not been wanting to urge its adoption; and in this country Dean Swift's observations on the subject form an interesting episode in the history of our national coinage. But though in modern times we have not recorded historical events on our coined money, special medals have been struck to commemorate them, and that to such an extent that a "Medallic History of England" has been published, which, however, has no materials to work with till the reign of Henry VIII., and very slight ones till Charles I., after which time they are copious, and form, often, very curious records of an interesting series of events; but this is not the place to treat of them. I may, however, before quitting the subject of modern medals,† state that the commemorative and other medals struck in Italy from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, are among the finest and most interesting specimens of modern art; some of them nearly equalling in style and grandeur of treatment, the finest works of the ancients. But a more near and instructive modern series is that relating to the great French Revolution, on which M. Hennin has founded his interesting work, entitled "Histoire Numismatique de la Revolution Francaise," published in Paris in 1826.‡ It need not be suggested how intensely interesting to far off generations will be the cotemporary medals which record the opening of the Convention, and the taking of the Bastille—medals with the inscription "Abandon de tous les privileges," &c. &c., and those struck in honour of Necker, with the inscription "Le vrai pere du peuple," a true record of the fickleness of popular worship.

But to quit this digression, and return to ancient coins, it may be stated, that Sir Isaac Newton made the greatest use of them in his work on ancient Chronology;

* "Monetamque facis de nostris temporibus futura sæcula commonere." It is right to mention here that *such* coins struck by Theodoric, in imitation of the coins of the earlier epochs of the empire, must have been very few in number, as none have come down to us.

† It must be understood that I am not referring to *coins*. I shall have subsequent occasion to speak in detail of the distinction between *coins* and *medals*.

‡ A similar work relating to Belgium has recently been published.

and that geography, as well as history, are both indebted to the fortunate preservation of coins for the possession of many facts connected with the names and situations of cities which would otherwise have passed into oblivion. Many coins might be cited bearing the name of a city, accompanied by that of a river or a mountain, which determines, not only the existence of the place, which might have been doubted, disputed, or forgotten, but likewise its situation, thus distinguishing it from other places of the same name;* for instance, some of the coins of Ephesus have the word, ΕΦΕΣΕΩΝ (in the genitive case), of the Ephesians, accompanied by the personification of a river, beneath which is the word ΚΑΙΣΤΡΟΣ, which shows that Ephesus was on the banks of the Cayster. Another instance is that of the ancient Italic city of Hatria or Hadria, now known only by its coins, which yet gave its name to the Adriatic Sea, on the shores of which it was situated. Hundreds of other similar instances might be cited; for it has been stated that upwards of two thousand names of places, provinces, and princes, exist upon ancient coins, many of them having no other record; and many have been discovered since that calculation was made, every day bringing with it still fresh discoveries.

In iconography, or portraiture, ancient coins are of the utmost interest; they enable us to look without fear of error on the very features not only of such men as Alexander the Great,† of Cæsar, of Augustus, whose coins bear their effigies—undoubted portraits, but also on the features of the great luminaries of poetry and philosophy, on those of Homer, Cicero, Sappho, &c. &c.; whose portraits, though not placed on the coins of their cotemporaries, were afterwards engraved on the public money of their native cities, in honour of their memory. Several cities, Smyrna, Rhodes, Chios, &c. &c., each claiming for itself the honour of being the birthplace of Homer, engraved his portrait on their coins. The celebrated archæologist Visconti has published two magnificent works on ancient portraiture, his "Iconographie grecque," and his "Iconographie romaine," in which portraits found on coins play a conspicuous part; indeed, other portraits, such as marble busts, for instance, are most frequently without an inscribed name, and many of them have, in consequence, remained valueless and unknown, till the discovery of a coin with the same head, and accompanied by a name, at once individualized them, and gave them interest and value.

In important details relative to different stages of civilization, coins have proved of the utmost interest. The vast numbers of coins existing of some comparatively barren, but well-situated island, denote its commercial importance, and the activity of its exchanges, while the greater scarcity of the coins of more luxuriant districts denote that the system of exchanges was less active, while the native richness of the soil which rendered the importation of other produce less necessary is represented on such coins by the wheat ear, the bunch of grapes, and other symbols of Ceres and Bacchus. Seaport cities generally adopted some marine symbol, either for the principal, or subordinate devices of their coins.

Treaties of alliance may frequently be traced on Greek coins, as for instance, when the coins of one city are *countermarked* by the emblem of another, an alliance, or at

* Instances of twenty or more Greek cities of the same name might be cited, causing much confusion, often rectified by the fortunate discovery of a coin.

† I shall speak in my chapter on Greek coins of the authenticity of these portraits of Alexander.

all events a convention that the coins of the one, are by common agreement allowed to pass as current money among the people of the other, is denoted; a custom which became so general that the mark of the allied city was in some cases at once engraved in the original die, in imitation of a subsequent stamp. We find also certain civic privileges inscribed on Greek coins which are occasionally very significant, such as that of the Ephesians, and others, denoting that they held the office with a high sounding name NEOKOPOΣ* which literally construed, simply means *temple sweepers*, a post which, in the simpler state of a previous period, had been virtually performed by the individual holder, but which the collective luxury of Ephesus accepted as an empty title of honour, just as in some of the aristocratic parishes of western London, two titled personages hold the office of churchwarden, while the two sub-officers termed sidesmen, perform all the *duties* of the office.

Some interesting particularities relative to the early commercial importance of Marseilles, have just been elicited by the discovery of some coins. Up to the time alluded to, no coins were known of Marseilles (the ancient Massilia) earlier than about the period of Alexander the Great, which had led to the supposition that its commercial importance could not have been extensive before that comparatively late epoch; but the Marquis de Lagoy, in a recent article in the "Revue Numismatique," describes some small silver coins with the well-known *hollow back*† of the earliest periods, recently discovered in some excavations near the port, which removes the difficulty, and proves the active commerce of the place (of which the existence of coin money is an evidence) to have been of the high antiquity which its situation and early colonization rendered probable.

But it is needless to multiply instances of the value and interest of the study of ancient coins. A host of writers of the highest rank have testified to its importance, and even Sir Isaac Newton, as I have stated, though he slighted antiquarian research in general, was yet, in his work on chronology, obliged to confess at least the importance of the numismatic branch of archæology; and when he found even astronomical phenomena, such as the appearance of comets,‡ eclipses, &c. &c., recorded on coins, forming authentic corroboration of the truth of some of the records of ancient astronomers that have come down to us, we cannot feel surprised that he joyfully accepted such aid in the prosecution of his chronological labours. Addison, too, has some eloquent passages on the beauty of ancient coins and the interest attached to their study; and Montfaucon in his great work entitled "L'Antiquité Expliqué," mentions the aid afforded by coins to the history of arts and manufactures, in preserving for us representations of buildings, &c. &c., which are no longer in existence, or are in ruins. The Colosseum, for instance, on some large brass coins of Vespasium is shown to us in its perfect state, with the upper stories complete, as described by ancient authors. And that these records are to be depended upon, is in this instance fully proved by the fact that the existing ruins, as far as they remain, corroborate the excessive accuracy of this medallic representation.

Designs of triumphal arches, too, are thus preserved, of which no vestiges remain,

* Greek coins of this description belong to the period after the subjugation to Rome, the shadow of independent privileges being thus substituted for the substance of national liberty.

† See Chapter III.

‡ See coins of Augustus, Vol. II., pp. 91, 92.

among others that erected to Claudius on his more complete subjugation of Britain. This elevation singularly enough affords an authority for placing an equestrian statue over an arch, exactly in the position of that of the Duke of Wellington at Hyde Park corner,* so that by mere accident a similar design to that which celebrated the subjugation of the Britons 800 years ago, now commemorates their own vast and unprecedented conquests. Montfaucon remarks also that a complete history of ancient ship building might be written from the representations of vessels of various ages, to be found on a series of ancient coins. But the eloquent address of Eckhel attached to his great work the "Doctrina Nummorum Veterum" would be alone sufficient to stamp the study with its due importance, and had I room for its insertion would answer that purpose very much better than any remarks of my own. I may add, in conclusion, that his illustrious successor in the pursuit of the same science, Mionnet, has declared it to be, "une magnifique branche d'archeologie."

The details of this interesting subject will find their proper place in the subsequent chapters of this work. I must now at once proceed to give some account of the origin of the study of coins, and its gradual growth into a science.

ORIGIN OF THE STUDY OF COINS.

There are no records proving that the Greeks made collections of coins, though the extreme beauty of Greek money of the finest periods would lead to the supposition, that among a people whose love of art was so keen and susceptible, some must have been found sufficiently alive to the beauty of such monuments, when in all the brilliant freshness of the new metal they were first issued from a new and unworn die, to preserve one or two as specimens; and that one or two so preserved, should have formed the nucleus of a collection. However, there is no proof of this, though high the preservation of some of the finest pieces, which have reached us in the state in which they left the die, *a fleur de coin*, suggests the idea that such a supposition is not altogether without foundation. But the Romans, after the conquest of Greece, became fully aware of the beauty of Greek art in general, and no doubt their exquisite coins formed part of the galleries of curious and beautiful objects formed by the Roman amateurs alluded to by Pliny. We also know, from internal evidence, that collections of coins were formed by the Romans, for a complete series of Roman silver was lately found in our island, containing all the Emperors, even down to Carausius,† which must have been the collection of some wealthy Roman numismatist of the latter period, as accident alone could not have brought such a collection together. It appears also, by a passage preserved in the Code ‡ of Justinian, that coins were used as gems—"pro gemmis"—that is to say, that they were mounted in rich ornaments, and worn as charms or amulets; they were also wrought into and mounted in necklaces, bracelets, &c., in which they took the place of intaglios or cameos; and some of the Greek and Sicilian coins would certainly form ornaments as exquisite as any sculptured gems that have reached us. What could be finer than the magnificent head of Proserpine on the celebrated Sicilian medallions (tetradrachms), of which there is an impression in Plate 3.

* See Plate 7.

† Stukely mentions this fact, which would be enough to throw discredit upon it, were it not otherwise well authenticated.

‡ Leg. 23 ff. de. usufr.

Dark ages of comparitive barbarism succeeded the fall of the Roman empire, in which, however, a sense of the beauty of ancient coins had not become extinct, and we find necklaces, brooches, and other ornaments, formed of Greek or Roman gold coins, mounted in the quaint barbaric jewellery of the eighth to the twelfth century, which forms a singular and striking mixture of the highest and simplest classic art, thus allied to the intricate but barbaric splendour common to the art of the middle ages. A most beautiful necklace of this description, formed of gold coins of the Roman emperors, is preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris, and many detached ornaments so formed exist in other collections; so that it is evident that, though we have no record of coins being collected for the purposes of study in the middle ages, yet, that they were admired and preserved as specimens of workmanship more perfect than any cotemporary artificer could produce.*

The first case recorded of a modern collector whose purpose was higher than that of mere ornament, belongs, as it should do, to a great name. The elegant mind of Petrarch perceived at once the interest of these exquisite relics of antique civilization. Having collected a series of ancient coins, he considered them a present worthy of an emperor; and as he tells us in his epistles, accompanied this gift to Charles IV. with the following remarks:—"Behold to what men you have succeeded. Behold whom you should imitate and admire—to whose very form and image you should compose your talents; the invaluable present I should have given to none but you—it was due to you alone. I can only describe the deeds of these great men; your supreme office enables you to imitate them."

The first modern author to treat of the subject in a separate and scientific form was Budé, an edition of whose work on the earliest Roman coin, the ÆS, or As,† was published in 1516, and, as a first work upon a most intricate and difficult subject, is a truly wonderful performance. He had no previous authors‡ whose track to follow, or whose ideas he could just remodel, improve, or make additions to: his only guides were the monuments themselves, and with the few detached passages that lie scattered through the works of ancient writers, he worked out a science for himself. But his was a capacious and extraordinary mind, and his various accomplishments soon led to his occupation in other matters, and he eventually filled several important offices during the reign of Francis I.

After Budé followed many others. In Italy, Vico's beautiful work on the portraits of the Cæsars, illustrated by their coins, appeared as early as 1553, and is a remarkable book, both for the beauty of the engravings of the coins, and also the ornamental borderings of the pages, the whole forming an exquisite specimen of Venetian printing of that period. Eneas Vico was an eminent engraver of Parma, and the erudition displayed by him in the execution of this work was matter of some surprise to his cotemporaries. But as a means of illustration, coins had been made use of before Vico or even Budé. The Italian *illuminators*—a race of exquisite and well-instructed artists—not only perceived the beauty of ancient

* The custom which thus originated in the excessive beauty of ancient coins—of encrusting them in other works of gold and silver, was afterwards continued with coins less worthy of such distinction, and many a guinea of George II. and III. is found encrusted in some family punch-ladle.

† De Asse, fol. ed. of 1516.

‡ It must be remarked, however, that Hermolaus Barbarus and Angelus Politianus had already sown the seeds of inquiry; the latter, in his Miscellanea, published as early as 1490, citing his various medals in illustration of his subjects.

coins, but also their value as illustrations in portraiture, and in a beautiful MS. history of Rome, of about the date 1480 or 1490, preserved in the Library of the Arsenal, Paris, many of the reigns of the emperors are preceded by an exquisite facsimile of a coin, bearing the imperial portrait exquisitely wrought up with gilding and colouring in imitation of the rich tones of the ancient bronze of the Roman coinage. In the British Museum one or two MSS. of the Harleian Collection, exhibit beautiful copies of coins, in their arabesque borderings ; and other instances might be cited.

Vico was followed by Erizzo, whose work, though perhaps less interesting, is more copious, and to a certain extent it superseded that of his predecessor. The earliest German work is that of John Huttichius, on the lives of the Roman emperors, illustrated by portraits taken from their coins, printed in 1525, and again in 1534 and 1537. In France, Antoine Le Pois, in 1579, published his "Discours sur les Medailles," which is a curious and beautiful book, an exquisite specimen of the Parisian printing presses of the time. Speed, in his "History of England under the Conquest of the Romans," first published in 1623, and Cambden, in his "Britannia Illustrata," published in 1646, were the first in England to illustrate history by the authentic corroboration of coins; while in France, Vaillant, not very long afterwards, published his fine works on the Dynasties of the Seleucidæ, the Arsacidæ, and the Ptolemies, founded on their coins. But the writers on this interesting subject now become too numerous to recapitulate—suffice it to say, that Labbe, in his "Bibliotheca Nummaria," the London edition of which was published by Moses Pitt, at the sign of the Angel, in Cœmeterio Pauli, 1675, gives a voluminous list of authors upon this subject up to that period, the names of whom, with the titles of their works alone, occupy eighty-four pages.* But if the first three-fourths of the seventeenth century had been prolific in authors upon the subject of Numismatics, the prodigious learning of such men as Scaliger and Gronovius exhausting the subject, as far as research among the writers of antiquity is concerned, yet the eighteenth century was still more so. The catalogue of Numismatic works, or works closely connected with the subject, composed by Lipsius, and published at Leipsic, in 1801, entitled, like that of Labbe, "Bibliotheca Nummaria," which includes all authors on the subject, up to the end of the eighteenth century, consists of 448 closely printed pages, without the Appendix, and comprises under the letter A alone, 160 works; while other letters include a still greater number. Among those in letter A, Addison's interesting works of course occur — his "Dialogues on the usefulness of ancient medals, especially in relation to the Latin and Greek Poets," translated both into Latin and Spanish ; and his work, entitled "A critical Essay on Modern Medals, with some reflections on the taste and judgment of the Ancients." And farther on we find other well-known names of Englishmen, who have been fascinated with this delightful study, Selden, Evelyn, &c.

As authors of complete and general treatises on the subject of coins, Savot may be especially distinguished, whose work appeared as early as 1627, and, as regards weight, measure, and quality of metals, is very complete, though in treating of metals he rambles into their medicinal and even alchemical qualities in a strange and fanciful manner.

* Near two hundred authors on weights, &c., besides as many more on coins.

Jobert * and Patin also produced complete treatises on the subject previous to the end of the eighteenth century. Jobert's work is incorrect in many respects, and some curious passages tend to show how the arts and history of the middle ages were neglected in his time, for he expressly tells us that all coins after Charlemagne, up to the end of the fifteenth century, are utterly unworthy of notice. Pinkerton's work was published in 1789, and dedicated to Horace Walpole. It is the most complete and entertaining treatise published in England up to that time, and though somewhat diffuse, and though the basis of the science has been wonderfully widened since his time, it may always be referred to with pleasure and advantage.

The works of Frœlich, Spanheim, Bellori, Buonarotti, &c., are illustrated with very creditable plates, some of them beautifully engraved. But Goltzius, the eminent Dutch engraver, who travelled to all the most celebrated collections in Europe that had been formed up to his time, produced a series of engravings of coins which have probably never been surpassed or even equalled for delicate and yet rich finish. It remained, however, to Pellerin in his work, the first portions of which were published in 1762, to class coins in a truly methodical manner: those of the Greek states, cities, islands, &c., being distributed in a lucid geographical order, and all the coins of each place grouped together in an extensive series of plates, in which, for the first time, the *exact forms* and even defects of the coins are accurately represented; previous authors having invariably engraved them in *true circles*, whilst from the very nature of their fabric they could not in general possess an accurately circular form, with the exception of some of the later Roman contorniate medallions which form a special class. Though the science has made great steps since Pellerin, yet his ten or twelve volumes still form a most instructive work for beginners, inasmuch as the arrangement is very similar to that of more modern works, and the abundant illustrative plates accompanying it throughout render all remarks easily understood. Eckhel, who is now acknowledged as the greatest authority upon the subject, followed very closely the plan of Pellerin, correcting his mistakes† and bringing up the science with all its accumulations of fresh knowledge to the beginning of the present century — the last portion of his great work "Doctrina Nummorum Veterum," appearing in 1798. But then his work, in addition to its being written in Latin, which will prevent it ever becoming generally *popular* in this country, has no plates; the want of which to those students who have no collection of the coins themselves to refer to, is greatly felt. Mionnet, the last great authority who has produced a great and general systematic work upon the subject, and brought it down to within a few years of the present time, this last supplement having been published as recently as 1837, has also omitted to give plates, except of a few rare coins; and indeed the continually increasing numbers of fresh coins would render a complete series of engravings almost impossible. The three last mentioned authors, Pellerin, Eckhel, and Mionnet, were all curators of great public collections: Pellerin and

* The last edition of Jobert, edited by Bimard de la Bastie, who corrected many of Jobert's errors, is perhaps still the best general elementary work in the French language.

† Pellerin did not bear philosophically the amendments to his system made by Eckhel, and exclaims, "Ce qui porte les critiques a excercer ce metier, n'est le plus souvent qu'une basse jalousie, qui fait distiller de la plume le venin dont leur amour propre est infecte." Eckhel little deserved such a reproach; he justified his emendations, and at the same time gave full merit to the high talent of Pellerin, in his reply.

Mionnet of that of Paris, and Eckhel of that of Vienna; the order and perseverance necessary to the keeping of which, appears to have been favourable to the production of such great and systematic works as theirs, which could moreover hardly have been produced without daily and hourly reference to a vast agglomeration of examples.

The numerous volumes published by Sestini in Italy, almost cotemporaneously with those of Mionnet in France, are also, to a certain extent, accepted text books on the subject. There are other cotemporary authorities in Italy, such as Calvedoni, Ricci (who recently received the numismatic prize offered by the French academy), and others; and in France and Germany such existing authors as Longperrier, Le Normand, the Duke de Luynes, Cartier, Dumersan, Grotefend, &c.; and in England, Millingen, Akerman, Hawkins, Borrel, Birch, Burgon, &c., are still carrying on the study with activity; and every month, as evinced in the articles contained in the different periodicals devoted more especially to this branch of archæological study, is bringing to light some interesting fact through the medium of the coins and medals of the ancients. The best books to consult for a series of *plates* of different classes of coins are perhaps, for Greek and Imperial Greek, Pellerin, and parts of Sestini; for Sicilian, *Paruta;* for coins of the Roman *families* as they are termed, or late republican coins, Ricci is undoubtedly the best work, though his plates are not so good as those of *Morel;* for the coins of the Roman Emperors, Bellori, Buonarotti, and others. The "Tresor Numismatique" contains a fine series of Greek and Roman coins, both series *ruled* from the originals by Colla's process, and therefore undeniably accurate; for plates of the coins of the Seleucidæ, Lagidæ, and Arsacidæ, Vaillant and Gough, and for the Sassanidæ, De la Saussaye. For a series of plates of the Roman As and its parts, Marchi and Tessieri; and for coins of Magna Græcia, Carelli. There are many other works with collections of plates, but these will amply suffice to the student till he is able to select for himself.* But let him take Eckhel and Mionnet as the basis of all his studies as to classification, &c.

In order to make this introduction as complete as space will allow, it now remains briefly to mention, in chronological succession, the formation of the earliest *collections* of ancient coins and medals. After the small cabinet formed by the poet Petrarch, before alluded to, the next attempt on record to form a collection of coins and medals is that of Alphonso, King of Aragon and Naples, who sought

* Banduri has composed "Une Bibliothoque Numismatique;" Hirsh, another work with the same title. Many works are cited in the *Bibliotheque des béaux arts*, by De Murr, and in the Dictionaire des beaux arts, by Sultzer; and others are mentioned in Oberlin's "Orbis Antiquas." Eckhel, too, in his *Doctrina*, has mentioned some of the principal works on the subject, accompanied by critical notices. Among works occurring to me at this moment as having tended towards the development of numismatic science, I may mention Gasseni's "Dictionario Numismatico," and that imperishable monument of patient labour the work of Rasche, also in the dictionary form, which was the only real attempt at a general treatise, complete in all its branches, previous to Eckhel's great work. Millin, in his notice of Eckhel, gives an exceedingly good *resumé* of his principles of classification which may be very useful to students. I may mention here Frœlich's "Notitia Elementaris," &c. &c., Hanthaler's "Exercitationes Numismaticæ," Mangaert's "Science des Medailles," which is rather a treatise on antiquity supported by medallic evidence; also Spanheim on the excellence of medals, but two enormous folios must be digested to get at the excellent matter contained in the mass; and Monaldi's "Institutione Antiquario Numismata," a work in style of those of Patin and Jobert, but better; and lastly, the best essay on the origin and early progress of the art of coining in Greece—Barthelemi's excellent essay "Paleographie Numismatique"—which still contains the best matter on this branch of the subject; while Millin's and Hennin's are the best recent French treatises on the general subject.

them in all parts of Italy. But even this, though a royal collection, was not upon a very large scale; as we may infer from the fact that he placed the whole of it in a rich casket of carved ivory, which he carried with him wherever he went. Anthony, Cardinal of St. Marc, nephew of Pope Eugenius IV., next attempted the formation of a cabinet, at Rome; and on the authority of Pius II., we are informed that the number collected by this cardinal was almost incredible. About the same time Cosmo de' Medici, the great Duke of Florence, commenced a collection not only of medals but also of MSS., statues, gems, &c., while his son Peter, and his grandson Lorenzo, continued to extend this collection of works of ancient art, which formed the basis of those galleries which are now the chief glory of Florence. In Germany, collections of ancient medals, as interesting monuments, was begun previous to the sixteenth century: Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, collecting about him several learned Italians who assisted him in forming the celebrated library of Buda, in the creation of which establishment he did not neglect the formation of a cabinet of coins.

In Spain, the Bishop of Tarragona, as early as 1586, commenced a collection of medals, and wrote an excellent work upon the subject. Other collections were soon commenced in that country, and that of Madrid may now rank among the finest in Europe; but the study did not take deep root in Spain, and for one work upon this subject published there, we might cite one hundred in Germany or France, and certainly several even in England; but the names of Florez and Velasquez prevent Spanish literature from being quite barren on this interesting subject. The cabinet of Madrid contains the following pieces—2672 gold, 30,692 silver, and 51,186 copper.

The Vienna Collection.—After the French, the greatest on the continent, was founded by the Emperor Ferdinand I. (born 1503, died 1564). It was augmented by the collection of the Archduke Albert, under the direction of the Chiflets, and the extremely valuable one formed by the Archduke Ferdinand. Maximilian I., the patron of the celebrated engravers, Albert Durer and Burghmair, and after him Rudolph II., and especially Charles VI., greatly added to it; the latter purchasing the fine collection of the Carthusians at Rome, and that of Count Parr, for the purpose of extending its already imperial dimensions; and lastly, Maria Theresa added the celebrated Granelli cabinet. Eckhel has written a masterly catalogue of this collection, and also a very interesting account of its progressive formation.

Many years ago it contained above 40,000 specimens, a number since greatly increased; being now, 24,112 Greek coins, 547 gold, 7225 silver, the rest copper—30,902 Roman, 2522 gold, 12,980 silver, the rest copper—and 38,133 coins and medals of the middle ages and modern, of which 8130 are gold, and 27,714 silver. Among the more modern gold, is the large alchemistical medal, weighing 2055 ducats, probably the largest gold medal in the world.

The Prussian ranks second among German collections, it was described by the antiquarian Beger between 1696 and 1701. Frederic William I. despoiled it of some of its magnificent gold medals, for the purpose of coining into current money. Among the pieces thus abstracted, was a modern one, bearing portraits of Frederic William the Great, and his queen, which weighed 500 ducats. The antique treasures of this cabinet have been lately increased by the accession of 6000 coins from the

cabinet of the late Margrave, of Anspach, and many valuable additions have been made, collected by the Count Knobbelsdorf, during his embassy at St. Petersburgh.

Next in importance among the collections of Germany is that of Gotha, the basis of which was laid by Ernest the pious; it was increased by the celebrated Arnstadt cabinet, formed by Prince Schwarzburgh, assisted by the well-known antiquarians, Morellus, C. Schlegel, Olearius, and others; which was purchased by the Duke John Frederic for 100,000 dollars. It is preserved in small cabinets, each of which is placed on a table, furnished below with a shelf for books, relative to the coins above. The more recently added collections of Schachman and Sultzer are kept separate. A history of the rise and progress of this important cabinet was published by Schlechtegroll, in 1799.

The different expeditions of the French into Italy, led several eminent Frenchmen to the study of the monuments of antiquity, but there is no record of any of them forming collections of coins earlier than the celebrated Guilleame Budé, who tells us that he had already formed a collection of ancient gold and silver coins, before he thought of writing on the subject; therefore, his collection must have been formed during the reign of Louis XII., for his work was written before the death of that prince, though it only appeared in that of Francis I. Grollier, a name so well-known among admirers of rare books of the early printing presses, especially such as are in the choice bindings with which Grollier delighted to clothe them, was also a collector of medals; and his collection, which was about being sent out of France after his death, was stopped, and purchased by the French king. The cases originally containing this collection, were, in the time of the editor of Jobert's work,* 1739, in the possession of the Abbé Rothelin, and each tray bore the well-known inscription found on the rich bindings of many of Grollier's books—"belonging to John Grollier and his friends."—(Johannis Grollierii et amicorum), for men like Grollier did not understand the selfish pleasure of locking up their precious collections for selfish enjoyment.

But this is the place to speak of the great national collection of France,† now admitted to be the finest in the world. It may be said to have been fairly commenced by Francis I., who not only imported living art from Italy, in the persons of Leonardo da Vinci and Benvenuto Cellini, but also caused beautiful coins and engraved gems to be purchased at a vast expense, for his private collection of works of art, ancient and modern. The *gold* medals he thus collected were encrusted, as Le Pere Dumolinet records, in a certain piece of jewellery in the form of a book; and about a hundred exquisite *silver* medals were mounted in a service of plate. Francis subsequently placed this nucleus of the royal French collection in the Garde Meuble, except a few pieces of rare beauty which he retained in his immediate possession. Henry II. inherited this taste for the fine arts from his father, and it was during his reign that Goltzius visited the collections of France.

Catherine de Medici caused the antique medals and coins which she brought with her from Florence to be placed in the library of Fontainbleau. Charles IX. increased the royal collections, placing them in the Louvre, and investing an especial officer with their custody and arrangement. Henry IV. invited the Sieur Rascas

* Science des Medailles.

† There is an account of the formation of the French collection, by A. L. Cointreau, published in 1800.

de Bagarris, who possessed a fine collection, to cede them to the royal establishment, and accept the charge of enlarging and arranging it. Under Louis XIV. the Abbé Bruneau,* who succeeded Bagarris and Jean Chaumont, was assassinated, and to place the cabinet of medals in greater security it was then removed to the *Bibliotheque* where it still remains. In his reign travellers were sent out in all directions to collect monuments for the increase of the collection, and a rich harvest rewarded the various labours of M. M. de Morceaux, Petit de la Croix, Nointel, Paul Lucas, and Vaillant. In 1775 the fine collection of Pellerin was added to it, and those of M. de Caylus and Foucault followed; that of Genevieve being added in 1790. Every succeeding year has added to this magnificent collection, that of General Allard, of the Bactrian and Indian coins of the successors of the Seleucidæ, being one of the last and most interesting.

This noble collection up to the time of Louis XV. had cost above £100,000, but since then, the collection of the Statholder, of the Duke of Modena, of the Medallions of Carpegna, and the celebrated collection of Medallions of Christina of Sweden having also flowed into it, caused Eckhel to exclaim, in his description of the Vienna cabinet, which he says, none but the French can equal, "that no efforts now can enable any collection in Europe to compete with the French, in fact they were first in the field, and rivalry is hopeless."

In Holland and Flanders, we learn from Erasmus, that the taste for the collection of medals begun a little before his time. These collections appear to have been inconsiderable, but towards the middle of the sixteenth century, when the enthusiastic Goltzius came to establish himself at Bruges they must have greatly increased both in number and importance, for Goltzius who travelled all over Europe for the purpose of studying and making drawings from the various cabinets of coins, by that time brought into existence, by the rapidly increasing knowledge of the importance of this class of ancient monuments, enumerates 200 collections in the low countries alone. He also mentions 175 collections in Germany, 380 in Italy, and about 200 in France. Indeed it appears that scarcely any sovereign at that period thought his palace complete without a collection of medals, though many having such collections were unable to read. Pinkerton remarks, that but few of these collections exceeded from one hundred to a thousand coins, which is most likely true, as the number of collections exceeding that number is even now but small in all Europe.

The Russian collections, though of modern formation, are considerable; the University of Charkow has 1995 coins and medals; the University of Dorpet, 13,500; the University of Kiew, 19,760 coins and medals; the University of Moscow, 6289 pieces; and the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, 295 coins and medals.

Even in China, a knowledge of the value of coins, as historical records, has made itself felt; and as early as 1700, the emperor formed a collection. Those, however, who expect to find in it any records of an extremely early Chinese coinage will be disappointed, as it contains no Chinese coins older than the eighth century of our era, and no ancient coins except Greek and Roman.

With regard to early collections formed in England, we have less information

* See Dumersan's interesting article on this subject.

than as regards those on the continent; for Goltzius did not extend his researches to this country. It appears, however, that Sir Robert Cotton had a collection as early as 1610, from which Speed illustrated his "Chronicle," published about that period; and we find that Henry, Prince of Wales, eldest son of Charles I., purchased the collection of Gorlœus, amounting, according to Scaliger, to 30,000 pieces; he bequeathed it to his brother, afterwards Charles I. Archbishop Laud expended £600 in the purchase of collections of coins, 5500 in number, and gave them to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The celebrated Earl of Clarendon, the historian, had also a fine collection. Junius, the librarian of Charles I., speaking of the palace of St. James's, mentions with great admiration, the collection of antiquities, and especially the collection of Greek and Roman medals which it contained. Oliver Cromwell had a small collection, and Vaillant, in the preface to his work on Roman colonial coins, mentions the collection of Charles II.; indeed, the founder of the Royal Society could not well be without a collection of these interesting monuments, at that time forming part of the pretence to learning of every prince in Europe.

Thomas, Earl of Arundel, well known as being the possessor of the Arundelian tables, and other antiquities, had in his collection a rich cabinet of medals, gathered by Daniel Nisum; and the Dukes of Buckingham and Hamilton, Mr. Selden, and several others, are enumerated by Evelyn as possessors of collections in his time. Haym, writing about 1720, mentions collections of coins in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Winchelsea, Sir Hans Sloane, &c., and also the Earl of Pembroke,* whose enthusiasm amounted to a mania, which became unpardonable when he purchased for the purpose of destruction rare and beautiful monuments, in order that those in his own collection might remain unique. Pinkerton mentions that at a sale which took place in 1755, he saw "fifteen beautiful Roman coins cut in half by the old Earl of Pembroke, and also fifteen rare Greek coins, similarly mutilated by the same hand, and the whole lot, of great value when perfect, only realized in fragments the sum of £2 14s." Horace Walpole did not neglect coins in his antiquarian researches: and Mr. Cracherode formed a fine collection, afterwards bequeathed to the British Museum.

Our national collection, in the British Museum, is a more modern establishment than most others in Europe. Its commencement was the bequest of the coins of Sir Hans Sloane, in 1753, which was, however, soon followed by many other bequests and purchases; among them, the Cottonian and Arundelian collections; and also that of Mr. Cracherode; the whole of which acquisitions are enumerated in chronological order in the preface to Taylor Combes's catalogue. To these valuable cabinets, now blended into one grand collection, in our National Museum, additions through the means of annual grants from government, are being continually made from all parts of the world, and the collection bids fair soon to rival, in some departments, the great cabinets of Paris and Vienna. It is open for the purposes of study to all persons properly introduced, and a visit to its treasures is rendered truly gratifying by the kind and instructive explanations of Mr. Burgon, the officer who chiefly attends to students and visitors.

* The Pembroke collection has been recently sold by auction, some of the coins realizing enormous prices.

Doctor Hunter, the celebrated physician, emulating the fame acquired by his great medical predecessor, Sir Hans Sloane, in forming his vast collection of antiquities, created the most perfect collection of coins ever made in England up to that time. It was commenced about 1770, and bequeathed to the college of Glasgow at his death in 1783, having cost in collecting upwards of £23,000. Most of our colleges have now collections more or less perfect. The Bank of England has a fine collection, which is, however, guarded with an over jealous vigilance that renders it useless for the purposes of study. There is also a good collection at the Mint; whilst recently formed private collections, such as those of Lord Northwick, Colonel Fox, and others, are yearly increasing in number and extent.

It would be impossible in the space of this work to allude even to all the public collections now existing on the continent, which the last half century has brought into existence, much more to notice the vast number of private ones recently formed, such as that of the Duc de Luynes, and others, though some of them, for the variety and beauty of their specimens, if not for their extent, are almost comparable to some of the great public collections. I must terminate this incomplete article on numismatic literature and collections, by stating that the former is every day increasing in extent, and that new information upon the subject is being vigorously supplied month by month in such periodicals as the "Numismatic Chronicle," the transactions of the Numismatic Society; the "Revue de la Numismatique Belge;" the "Revue Archeologique;" the "Journal des Savants;" and the "Revue Numismatique," edited by Cartier; facts sufficient to prove the object of this chapter, namely, the interest and importance of the study of coins.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE VARIOUS DESCRIPTIONS OF MONEY, OR CIRCULATING MEDIUM—REPRESENTING WEALTH THAT PRECEDED THE USE OF COINS.

AS no authors have attempted to place the invention of *coined* money at an earlier period than the ninth century previous to the christian era, and it is probably of a still more recent date, it will be at once obvious that some other species of *money* must have preceded the knowledge of *coins*. The line of distinction drawn by numismatists between what may be *generally* termed *money*, and what may be *strictly* termed *coin*, is this:—primitive money, if *metallic*, for there were many other kinds, passed by weight, and only consisted of distinct pieces, for convenience of carriage, or separation—no single piece being nicely adjusted to any special weight. It might, therefore, require 300, more or less, of such pieces, to form a shekel or talent, or any other nominal weight or value, generally accepted as a common standard; consequently, such money was weighed when exchanged for value—while true *coins*, when at last invented, were individually adjusted to a certain precise weight and value, and then stamped with the signet of a people or prince, with some sacred national symbol to guarantee that weight and value; upon the strength of which, coins passed current, as the positive representatives of a positive specific metallic value—that is to say, to use the technical terms of numismatists, they passed by *tale*, and not by weight; which simply means, that they were *counted, not weighed*.

The step from simple *barter* to the first exchange by means of any sort of circulating medium, must have occurred in this manner:—The first man who had, by economy, system, or perseverance, been enabled to amass a greater store of the provisions necessary to the existence and comforts of mankind than was required by himself and his own family, was enabled to distribute to others, less frugal, or less enterprising, these valuable necessaries, in exchange for their labour. This was simple barter, and did not require a medium of exchange. By this accession of labour, his wealth was still farther increased, he became the first capitalist, and consequently the first leader, patriarch, or king; and also the first who could leave to his children an exchangeable store greatly superior to the stores of his neighbours; consequently, he may be said to have founded the first dynasty, as is said by Hennin, in his "Origine des Monnaies":—"The direct exchange of these accumulated commodities against other provisions, was, no doubt, eventually perceived to be susceptible of more systematic arrangement; and some articles in more general requirement than others, such as salt, cloth, &c., became a sort of circulating medium, for which any other article could be procured. But the appearance of the *metals*—the most useful substances discovered by man, after those that form human food, soon disclosed their high value in the affairs of human life. From the first knowledge of their properties, it may easily be conceived that they

would inevitably form the most convenient representatives of all other wealth. Not being subject to injury by carriage, or by climate, and their capability of being divided into small parts, which could, by fusion, or otherwise, be again reunited, must have rendered it at once apparent that some species of *metal* was the most appropriate substance of which to form money; but this result, which to us appears inevitable, no doubt required centuries to accomplish. I shall now refer to a few of the forms of money, both metallic and of other substances, which had course previous to the great invention of *coins*.

In some parts of the world where, from peculiar and various causes, man still remains in a nearly primitive state, simple barter, or, the simplest monetary arrangements, still prevails, as in the earliest times; and from these existing examples we may learn what the most highly civilized races were in their original condition. In Ethiopia, the primitive system of exchanges peculiar to patriarchal times still prevail; and we learn from M. D'Abbadie that salt is still used there as money. On the market of Shakha, he says that salt is current in pieces called *emóle*, which are cut into the shape of a mower's whetstone, each *emóle* being tied lengthways, by a thong of raw hide, slit, so as to form a belt. In the year 1838, so highly were the salt *emóls* rated, that only twenty were given for an European dollar, a few of which find their way into that part of Africa. In the Galta country, he says, the *emóle* is sub-divided into finger breadths. This salt, says M. D'Abbadie, is gray, and very porous. In Dambya and Gojam this salt money is in great request everywhere, and towards the Galta country so much so that a slave purchased in Enária for twenty-four pieces is worth one hundred and sixty pieces in Gondar. In Ray's travels, published in 1738, we find a corroborative account of this salt money, which was cut, says the traveller, "into little square pieces like pieces of soap."*

Pieces of white cloth, we also learn from M. D'Abbadie, are current as money at Adwati, and are called *stamma;* which are cut into halves or quarters, as the case requires. For smaller dealings, handfuls of *tef*, or plaited threads of blue silk, are always received as currency. A money of more recent invention is also current in Abyssinia, namely, strings of glass beads, called *kharaz*. The Ahabab shepherds, who bring large quantities of milk to Mussawwa, are not willing to take any other currency, though European dollars are to be had, for which formerly thirty-four strings of khoraz were given, but now only twenty-nine; which shows that money of this kind, in a certain phasis of civilization, is not liable to depreciation even when opposed to bullion. It is well known that certain species of shells pass current in parts of Africa and in India, a kind of circulating medium known to be of very high antiquity, indeed some writers have endeavoured to find a similarity between one of the ancient names of money and that of a cockle shell.

Let us now witness an existing state of transition from this indirect barter to a metallic money. The natives of Kordofan, in the interior of Africa, have adopted an iron currency, of which Mr. Holroyd gives the following account:† "The population of the place amounts to 40,000; previous to their subjection to Mahomet Ali, all transactions were conducted by a kind of barter, and a grain called *Daka*, of which the

* Hoble. Num. Chron. † Num. Chron., Vol I.

people make their bread, was the staple commodity which formed the medium of exchange. On the conquest of the country by the Egyptians, new social relations of a more complicated nature arose, and a more convenient standard as to bulk and value was required. But the Egyptian money which was introduced proved too valuable, and represented too great a bulk of merchandise, so that there was no small change; under these circumstances a currency of middle value was sought. A rich vein of iron exists near the surface at Wad Dessacki, about fifty miles east of Lobeyet: the people resorted to this naturally established mint, and there created for themselves a money suited to their peculiar wants. Each piece of this rude money is of about the value of a *para*, forty being equal to the Egyptian piastre, which is about twopence halfpenny of our money. This iron money is made in a singular form, something like that presented by the section of a mushroom cut down through the stalk, and it is called by the natives *Hassahsah*. This iron currency is very carelessly adjusted as to weight; some pieces weighing 121 grains, others 428, both being of the same nominal value; the consequence of this irregularity is, that on the weekly market day, Wednesday, its temporary or present value is declared by public proclamation. So that the Kordofan money market has its fluctuations like that of the City of London; and speculations are made by Loggun *bulls* and *bears*, on the great Wednesday event; which always excites a great disturbance, says the traveller, as if some were great losers and others gainers by the fluctuations." In Loggun they have also an iron currency, mentioned by Denham and Clapperton.*

It would appear that early metallic money was sometimes in the form of small bars or spikes, as the terms denoting the two chief Grecian coins, seem to refer to this as the primitive form of their money, before the introduction of coins. *Obolus* meaning a spike, and *Drachma*, of six times the value of the *Obolus*, meaning a *handful*; six being possibly the number that an average-sized hand could grasp.

It appears strange that the Egyptians having advanced so far in the arts of civilization had not got beyond the form of ring money, to account for which some have imagined that the stones and gems carved with a figure of the Scarabæus, or beetle, were in fact money; and the immense numbers in which they are found appears to favour the hypothesis. Stieglitz supposed that the first Greek coins were imitations of the Egyptian Scarabæan gems, and S. Quintino's view appears also to be that the smaller Scarabæi, with kings' names,† took the place of money among Egyptians; which has an analogy with the clay money of early Romans, which according to Suidas, were Scarabæi of baked clay; and more than one passage of ancient writers refers to engraved stones being in use among the Ethiopians as money.‡

* Iron money no doubt existed among many ancient nations at a peculiar period of their development, as at Byzantium, as well as Sparta, which are recorded instances; and the reason that no specimens have reached us, as of silver, gold, or copper money, is the liability of iron to entire destruction by corrosion when exposed to wet or damp.

† That the early symbols on the first Greek money, such as the Corinthian Pegasus, the Æginian turtle, the Bœotian shield, and the early Ephesian bee, all might have been taken from Egyptian Scarabæus, is supposed by some authors.

‡ The Jewish weights were also of stone, and the word weight in Hebrew, אבן, also means a stone, (Deut. xxv. 13. 15.) *Weights* and *money* were, at the time of the transition from weighed pieces to the issue of pieces of a certain guaranteed weight, nearly synonymous terms; thus the Roman term *Æ's libra* was at the same time both the *pound weight* and the *coin* (weighing a pound), and from this close relationship of *weights* and money, it may perhaps be inferred that the stone weights formed also a stone money.

Diodorus places the forgeries of *seals* on the same footing with forgeries of weights and measures among ancient Egyptians.

The woodcuts 1 and 2 show the similarity of one of the devices on the first Greek money, thought by some to be copied from the (supposed) *Scarabœan* money of Egypt.

Fig. 1.

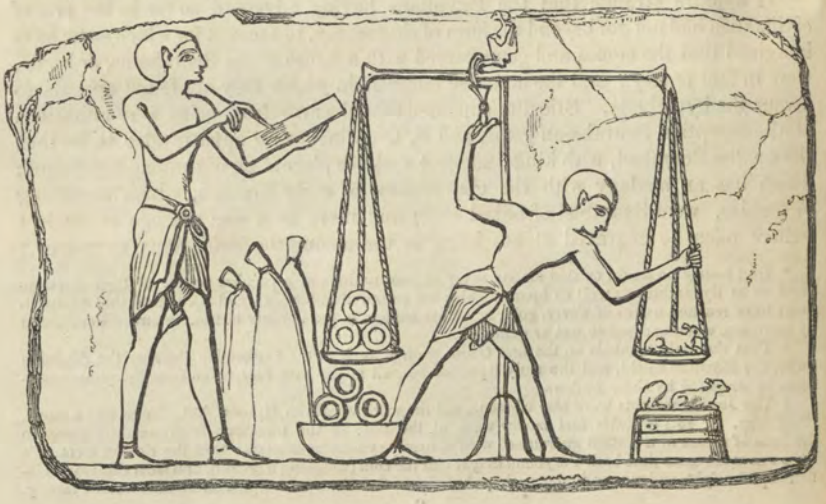
Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 1 is an early coin of Bœotia, the devise of which is generally considered to be the Bœotian buckler, or shield. Fig. 2 is a small Egyptian Scarabæus. The backs of these Scarabæi (No. 3) are covered with hieroglyphics, which Denon describes as being always different, he having found no two alike among an immense number that he examined.

The Αριανδικον νομισμα or money of Ariandes, was of a comparatively late date; he being made governor of Egypt by Cambyses; it is mentioned by Hesychius, but none has reached our times, unless his coins were the silver Darics struck in imitation of the gold ones of Darius Hystaspes, which some have supposed. Hesychius was a Greek grammarian, who lived about A. D. 300, and speaks also of coins of Queen Philistis, which must be the well-known Sicilian coins not older than 200 B.C.

But these hypotheses with regard to early Egyptian money must remain fanciful speculations till the discovery of new materials shall enable future archæologists to solve the problem. For all that is positively known we are indebted to the ancient hieroglyphic paintings and sculptures of the Egyptians, still perfect in tombs and



other remains ; and these paintings only represent a *ring money*, evidently passing by weight, as a similar currency passes in Sennár at the present day. The woodcut is from one of those paintings, as old, if not older, than the time of Abraham, and shows a public *weigher* and *notary*, in the act of weighing and taking down the amount of *ring money*.*† The weights are in the form of animals, similar to weights recently discovered in the ruins of Nineveh. In the present instance the weight appears to be in the form of a lamb; a curious illustration of the passage in Job, in which the usual term *shekel* is not used for money, but *kesitah*, a *lamb*, the Jewish *weight* with which money was weighed being no doubt of that form ; and possibly the shekel itself was impressed with a rude image of a lamb, as the earliest Roman money was with that of an ox, &c., as representing the staple objects of barter—cattle.

But to return to the early origin of money, the first records of a metal currency occur soon after the deluge. We learn from the most ancient historical record, the Bible, that silver and gold were used as exchangeable media during the lifetime of Shem. Abraham is stated to have come back from Egypt, "very rich, in cattle, and in *silver*, and in *gold*:" this was according to the commonly received computation 1918 years B. C. Twenty years afterwards we find silver positively alluded to as a medium of exchange, as in the following passage: "He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, &c." Now the word translated *money*, means literally *silver*, and we find in later times the word *silver* in the Hebrew language continued to signify *money*, just as in the French language *argent* and *money* are synonymous terms, at the present time.

Abimilech, King of Gerar, is stated to have "given Abraham 1000 *pieces* of silver," here it is only spoken of as wealth, but we soon find a more explicit passage. In the purchase of the field and cave of Machpelah, "Abraham *weighed* to Ephron the silver which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver *current money* with the merchant." Here we have distinctly the bullion currency which passed by weight and not by tale, and which was the form of circulating medium which immediately preceded coins. This weighed bullion, as observed by Mr. Dickenson in his article on the subject of the origin of the bullion currency, is the very outset of the use of a medium of exchange instead of the practice of direct or modified barter; and as an advance in commercial transactions would form a change almost as important as the great transition from writing to printing; indeed, great as was the after change from pieces of bullion needing weighing, to *coined* money passing by *tale*, yet that from barter to a metallic *medium* was greater; superseding at once the necessity of seeking parties having the superfluity of the article required, and willing to exchange it for the articles of which the individual applying to exchange had a superfluity. The universal consent required for the general recognition of such a medium of representation must, considering the obstinately conservative disposition of mankind in general, have required much ripening, and have been the result of slow and careful steps.

* Gold and silver is distinguished in these hieroglyphics in the following manner: near to rings intended for gold, a *crucible*, the symbol of gold, is painted or engraved; and to denote silver, the crucible is crossed with a *leak*, the symbol of *white*.

† Count Caylus mentions the small piece of thin gold, sometimes found under the tongue, and sometimes in folds of the drapery of mummies, as probably money.

This transaction of the purchase of the field of Machpelah may serve to explain how the study of coins and their associated subjects disclose to us many interesting particulars as to the state of patriarchal civilization. We perceive from this passage that the legal *conveyance* of property was executed with a care and with minutiæ almost rivaling the arrangements of modern lawyers. The property is described as "the field of Ephron," and situate "in Machpelah *before Mamre*," showing that there was another Machpelah from which it was necessary to distinguish it, and in order with true lawyerlike perspicuity to prevent all possibility of mistake, it is further described as "the same is Hebron," being "in the land of Canaan."

Then all the appurtenances are enumerated, "the cave therein," and "the trees in all the borders round about;" its uses are also stated "for a possession of a burying place," and the whole is "made sure unto Abraham for a possession," before witnesses, "in the presence of the children of Heth;" and the place of transfer is also named "at the gate of the city." Hebron is here clearly shown, also, to have been a place requiring foreign luxuries, for the "*merchants*" visited it, with whom the *money* or rather *silver* of Abraham was "*current*."

Of the money "current with the merchant" the early *form* is not known, but it appears to have been composed of small pieces, a number of which were weighed to a certain weight and then placed in a bag, as a weighed *talent*, or some other weight of "*account*."

The smaller pieces were very early called *shekels*, from the word *shakel*, to weigh, a name continued to the Jewish money, even after regular coins were adopted, whilst the Romans used the word *impendere* (to weigh), for to pay, long after the custom of weighing had been superseded by the use of real coins.

Early metallic money was also made in other forms, such as rings, which could be opened or closed, and so linked together, for convenient carriage, in the form of a chain. There was also what may be termed *jewel money*, jewels being made to a certain *weight*, which weight, when the jewels were exchanged or given away, was always stated, so that they might pass, if necessary, as *money*. Of this we have an example in the presents given by Abraham's servant to Rebekah, mentioned in Gen. xxiv., 22:—"The man took a golden ear-ring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands, of ten shekels weight of gold," from which it is evident they were either intended for ornament to the person, or for money, just as Greek girls of the present day wear gold coins in their hair, and as we find in the middle ages, persons of wealth cutting off a certain portion of a gold chain to present as a reward, or to give in payment for articles required.

In Mr. Laing's translation of the "Heimskringla, or Chronicles of the Sea-kings of Norway," from the Icelandic of Snorro Sturleson, a writer of the twelfth century of our era, a *collar* is stated to be given as a portion of a marriage dower, as follows: three large farms, and a *gold ornament*. Again, King Agne, who next possessed it, was told by Skialf to "take care of his *gold ornament*." He "therefore took hold of the ornament and bound it fast about his neck before he went to sleep." These gold neck-rings, ear-rings, &c., were money with all the northern nations; the neck-rings were *torques*, as we find them termed in collections of antiquities; and it was doubtless such an one that was taken from the neck of the

conquered Gaul by the Roman Manlius, which he was allowed to wear as a mark of honour, and hence received his surname *Torquatus*. On subsequent Roman coins, afterwards struck by his descendants in commemoration of their celebrated ancestor, a torque is made to form a bordering to the coin. We find in the Icelandic saga's above alluded to, another passage clearly showing that rings were given as a sort of pay to soldiers :—

> " He whom the ravens watch with care,
> He who the *gold rings* does not spare."

Harold Hardrada is alluded to, who appears to have been very liberal with his *ring money*. Again, a bard is paid with a *ring;* the King (Olaf Haraldsson) thanked the scald Thormod for his song, " and took a gold ring, that *weighed half a mark*, and gave it to him. Other passages prove that there were half mark, mark, and two mark rings; but it is not within the scope of this work to enter into a history of the ring money of the middle ages, which was doubtless a continuation of an ancient custom ; but one interesting particular I may mention before quitting the subject, namely, that what appears to be a sort of transition money exists of the fifth or sixth centuries of our era, termed loop money—a perfect coin in other respects, but to which a loop is attached, apparently for the purpose of stringing it for convenient carriage. These coins occur among the money of the Merovingian race of early Gallic sovereigns. The Francs were no doubt accustomed to ring money on their arrival in Gaul, where they found the perfect Roman coinage in general circulation, the superiority of which they perceived, but endeavoured to adapt it to their usual arrangements by attaching loops to it, so that they might string it like their old ring money. But this must be mere hypothesis ; and too few such coins have been found to render it probable that such a custom was ever general.*

To return to the progress of ancient money, it appears, that although the *ring money* was very general in Egypt as well as Judea, as shown in the paintings described by Sir G. Wilkinson, where persons are seen weighing them, and scribes setting down the amount: yet it would seem that at a very early period, money of some more regular and compact form was known; and at 2 Kings, ch. xii., we find that " Jehoida, the priest, took a chest, and bored a hole in the lid of it, and set it beside the altar, on the right side as one cometh into the house of the Lord; and the priests that kept the door put therein all the money that was brought into the house of the Lord." Afterwards, " they *told* the money that was found in the house of the Lord." Here is a regular money-box, with a hole, no doubt just large enough† to admit of the pieces, but not for a hand to take them out. The *telling*, however, does not positively imply that there was no *weighing;* for in Ezra we read that the vessels brought back from Babylon were recorded by *number* as well as weight. However, the passage regarding the box would seem to imply that current pieces of a small convenient form were in very general use ; but the Jews, though we have such early records of their use of *weighed money*, and even of those small pieces which may possibly have passed by *tale* without weighing, did not adopt positive *coins* till introduced by the Greeks, and had never national coins, except for a very short period during the comparatively recent domination of the Maccabees.

* For an account of Celtic ring money see Sir W. Betham's work. † Mr. Dickenson's article. Num. Chron.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE LYDIANS, SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN THE FIRST WHO "COINED" GOLD, ABOUT SEVEN OR EIGHT HUNDRED YEARS BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ERA, AND OF THE SUBSEQUENT COINAGE OF GOLD IN EUROPEAN GREECE.

WHETHER the Greeks of the island of Ægina, or the Grecianised Pelasgians of Lydia, first invented coined money, both, no doubt, went through all the previous stages of *weighed* money, both in the ring and other forms, as would seem to be clearly implied in the origin of the names of their two principal coins, the drachma and the obolus.* The claim to the priority, by one Greek state over another, for the first invention of coined money, is something like that for the honour of having given birth to Homer ; and as it is one of the inventions that has had the greatest effect upon the destiny of man, influencing the course and form of his progressive civilization more perhaps than any other, it is not wonderful that the honour of the discovery should be thus disputed. But there seems as little probability of deciding to whom this honour is really due as there is of fixing the real birth-place of Homer. The historian Herodotus, in his fifth book, of whose wonderful accuracy modern research has brought to light many remarkable examples, says distinctly that the Lydians first *coined* money ; and he is supported by other ancient authors. And certain it is, that gold coins belonging to the very first period of the art, are found, which, both from the places where they are usually discovered, their symbols, and many other circumstances of internal evidence, may be more fairly attributed to Lydia than any other district ; in fact, none of the coins of Greece, excepting perhaps those of Thasos, have the *back* so primitively rude as the Asiatic gold attributed to Lydia.

Before giving the Lydians the credit of so important an invention, let us examine their history and position. The Pelasgi, at a very early period, occupied nearly the whole of Greece, Italy, and the shores of Asia Minor. The possession of the vast coast line of these countries appears, by favouring commercial intercourse, to have developed civilization among the Pelasgian races, at a much more rapid rate than in the tribes inhabiting the inland portions of Central Asia and Europe, and in the Asiatic portions of those settlements previously to the European ones. The closer connection of the former, with the most ancient civilized states in the world, those of Central Asia, giving them certain advantages, while their own geographical position appears soon to have enabled them to surpass their teachers. Of the advantages of position, we find an early and striking example in the commercial enterprise of the Phœnicians ; their early and adventurous voyages being the first enterprises of a truly *progressive* character that history records, and their profitable and civilizing character is shown by the rapid rise of Tyre and other Phœnician cities :

* See page 17, Chapter II.

while the civilization of Egypt, which was not of a *progressive* character, stands a curious anomaly in the advance of man—a sort of western China, where a certain point having been attained, it appears to have been religiously determined not to go beyond it.

In the countries occupied by the Pelasgian settlements, the remains of their peculiar architecture, termed *cyclopean*, may still be traced, and whether in Asia or Europe, it presents similar characters. They appear to have been a people in whom, as phrenologists would term it, "constructiveness" was very fully developed. In the rock sculptures and rock temples of central and southern Asia, and in the excavated palaces of Egypt we do not perceive the same degree of *constructiveness*—the same natural power of *putting together*. For these rock carved temples, though frequently in imitation of buildings constructed in the ordinary way, yet prove that from the advantage of the possession of convenient building materials, which could be used of almost any size, the *upright* and the *beam* formed their simple and obvious principles of construction.* But the Pelasgian system of constructing buildings was with comparatively small fragments of stone, the ready-made bricks of nature, which Herodotus (from whom we learn so many valuable particulars relating to ancient civilization) informs us they fitted together by means of a leaden rule, which being bent to the form of the last laid stone, was tried against a number of others, till something like a fit was found, which was then placed against the stone of corresponding form, which had been truly indicated by the test of the leaden rule; and so accurately was this fitting managed, and so strong was the masonry so built up, without the aid of cement, that much of it remains entire at the present day, after a lapse of probably more than 3000 years; while every step towards the eventual discovery of the *arch* may be traced in this cyclopean work. This was the real commencement of architecture in its true character of a constructive art, and it became in this more ennobled and scientific form, the parent of the other arts. But in Greece the capacities of the *arch*, to which this form of construction was the first step, was scarcely called into use, in consequence of the adoption of Egyptian general forms (though not details) in their monumental structures. In Italy, however, where the system worked more freely, the arch, with all its wonderful results in the art of construction, was fully worked out by the Romans, though at a comparatively later period.

Among these Pelasgic settlements arose the Lydian kingdom, and though it was not influenced directly by the advantages of commercial intercourse with other nations,†

* Sir G. Wilkinson, in a paper recently read before the "Institute of British Architects," is of opinion that the arch was known to the Egyptians in the thirteenth century before the christian era, as proved by arches of crude brick, covered with stucco at Thebes. But it may easily, at that comparatively late period, have been an imported and not a national discovery, as the Cyclopean constructions of the Pelasgi are many of them of much earlier date, and so the fact does not interfere with my theory.

† That the Lydians were not a maritime nation is evidenced by the following anecdote:—"Crœsus having meditated the conquest of the Greek islands, a Greek traveller, Bias, of Priene, changed his intentions by a piece of diplomatic argument truly Greek. Knowing that the Lydian cavalry formed the great strength of the army of Crœsus, he told the king that the Greeks were collecting enormous squadrons of horse, with the view of invading Lydia, and overpowering his favourite force. 'May the Gods grant,' said Crœsus, 'that the Greeks, untrained in horsemanship, attack our disciplined squadrons, there would soon be an end of the contest.'—'Yes,' replied Bias, 'in the same way as if the Lydians, unexperienced in seamanship, should attack the disciplined navy of the Greeks.' It is hardly necessary to add that the expedition was abandoned."

yet it was indirectly so, through its immediate neighbours, especially the Greek Pelasgians, who, finding the country about the Peloponessus too densely populated, emigrated again, after they had made immense strides in civilization, to the less densely peopled parts of the coast of Asia Minor; thus forming the Greek settlements of Ionia, &c., &c. This Grecian neighbourhood immediately influenced Lydian institutions; and we find the second race of Lydian sovereigns derived from a European Greek stock.

Hercules, it is stated, was sold by command of an oracle as a slave to Omphale, Queen of Lydia, in order to expiate the murder of Iphilus. One of the female slaves of Omphale bore a son to Hercules, named Alcæus, whose grandson Argon was the first of the Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules, who ascended the Lydian throne—the last of this line was Candaules, a cotemporary of Romulus, about 755 B. C. These cotemporary rulers offer a striking contrast of civilization, for while the Italian prince ruled over a few wild huts, Candaules was sovereign of a state apparently not inferior in civilization to the Greek colonies of Ionia and Doria, being itself, no doubt, principally formed of Grecian elements; for we find Candaules purchasing, for its *weight in gold*, a picture painted by Bularchas, representing a battle of the Magnetes—a truly Greek enthusiasm for art.

Candaules did not strictly confine his admiration of the beautiful to the productions of the fine arts, for we find that his wife, to whom he was passionately devoted, was reputed the most lovely woman in the world; and her charms were not, it would seem, like those of many modern beauties, confined to the face alone, in consequence of the distortions caused to the rest of the person by tight stays and other aids to deformity, but on the contrary, consisted in the exquisite symmetry of the entire figure. Candaules was not content with knowing and appreciating this poetry of form himself, but could not resist the temptation of exciting the admiration of his favourite, Gyges; for which purpose he placed him in a porch commanding a view of the queen's undressing room at the time when she usually divested herself of her apparel previous to retiring to rest. Unfortunately, the queen discovered this unpardonable indiscretion of her husband, and sending for Gyges, gently informed him that *two* men might not so look upon the Queen of Lydia, and both live—giving him the choice either to expiate his own crime by a voluntary death, or so to punish the crime of Candaules. Gyges, no doubt, hesitated, but only for a short time; and Candaules, the last of the direct race of the Heraclidæ, perished by the hand of his favourite, who succeeded to his throne—and wife. The race of Gyges, though called that of the Mermnadæ, was in fact another branch of the Heraclidæ. Gyges became a powerful prince, and he, as well as his descendants, were luxurious and munificent patrons of the fine arts. Many rich presents are described by ancient authors as executed by their command for the purpose of presentation to different temples; amongst others, Gyges gave six gold cups, weighing thirty talents, *but still more highly prized for their exquisite workmanship*, to the oracle of Delphos.

He was succeeded by his son Ardys, who was succeeded by his son Sadyates, who was in turn succeeded by Alyattes, who was the father of the celebrated Crœsus, the splendour of whose reign, in the early part, is the theme of all ancient historians; but fortune deserting him, it was he who was destined to see the kingdom of

Lydia fall beneath the power of Cyrus, and become united to the spreading Persian empire—a fate soon after shared by his neighbours, the Greek states of Asia Minor.

In assigning the invention of such an important step in the progress of civilization, as the art of coining, to a particular people, it appeared necessary to state something of their history and general state of civilization. I think enough has been said to prove that the civilization of the Lydians, and their close connection with the intelligent Greeks, was sufficient to account for such an advance in the science of exchanges, particularly when we have seen in a preceding chapter that the way was prepared by the previous existence of *weighed* metallic money among the Jews, Egyptians, &c. When to this we add the richness of the country in mines, especially the abundance of gold, greater than in any other portion of that part of Asia, and certainly greater than any in Europe, not even excepting the subsequently discovered gold mines of Thessaly; and also the evidence of great skill in working gold, as shown in the presents sent by the sovereigns of Lydia to other states, we have fair grounds, coupled with the testimony of Herodotus, for accepting the hypothesis that the Lydians were the first to *coin* money—at all events *gold* money.* It appears most probable that this event must have taken place between the reign of Candaules and that of Crœsus, very possibly under Gyges; a new dynasty seldom failing to produce an impulsive effect on the energies of a nation.

The first mode of coining appears to have been to give to a lump of metal, of a *certain weight*, a somewhat globular form; sometimes it was egg-shaped, which is the case with some of the earliest Lydian coins attributed to Sardis; then, by filing or otherwise, it was still more accurately adjusted to the required weight. It was then placed over a die, in which was engraved the religious or national symbol to be impressed upon the coin, as a guarantee of that weight; a wedge, or punch, was then placed at the back of the lump of metal, and being held steadily with one hand, was struck with a hammer held in the other, till the metal was sufficiently driven into the die to receive the engraved impression. We may imagine the die to be a common cornelian seal, fixed with its face upwards, and a piece of soft wax or some other yielding material placed upon it, and then a wedge or punch placed upon the wax and struck with a mallet or hammer till the wax is sufficiently forced into the engraved design of the seal, to receive a good impression of it.

This process accounts for the *lumpish* appearance of the earliest coins, and the *hollow mark* at the *back* of them is that of the punch, which was generally made *square* and *rough*, in order to prevent the possibility of slipping; and hence the *rough indented square* at the *back* of coins of the *earliest period*. Such will be found the form and general appearance of the gold coins attributed to Lydia. See specimens described at Plate I., showing the obverse, and also the rough, hollow square at the back. Mr. Borrel † has considered the coin with the heads of a bull and lion (Plate 1, Fig. 3), to be the one of Crœsus, who possessed the territory ‡ through which the Pactolus rolled its golden sands down from the

* The author of an excellent article in the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana," says:—"The Lydian coins show a higher antiquity than those of Greece." For authorities on Lydian gold, see Xenophon, Coloph., in jul.; Pollux, Onomast., lib. 9, cap. 6; Sigm. 83, p. 1063; Heraclides de Politiis, p. 521; Eustathius, comment. ad Dionys; Perieget, p. 149, col. 2.

† Num. Chron. Vol. II.

‡ The Pactolus flowed close to Sardis, the capital of Lydia.

Imolus, yielding the pale yellow metal, a mixture of gold and silver, known among numismatists by the name of electrum, and which Sophocles speaks of as the Sardic electrum;* this possession gave him the power of producing an extensive gold coinage, which may have been the foundation of the exaggerated fables of his wealth recorded by ancient historians.

But comparing these coins with the earliest silver coins of European Greece, I should feel inclined to assign them to some of the predecessors of Crœsus; for Crœsus succeeded to the throne only 459 years before Christ, whilst Phidon, who is supposed to have struck the earliest coins of Greece, is stated to have lived 885 years before the Christian era. These Lydian coins are evidently of a fabric as ancient, if not more ancient, than those of Phidon; and, therefore, if there is not another Phidon, which some have supposed, of a later period, it would appear that they must be as old as 885 B. C., at least.† But this is a disputed point which the extent of the present work does not admit of discussing at length. I may add, however, that Homer who flourished, according to Newton, about 870 B.C., does not speak of coins, though an Asiatic Greek, and consequently must have known the Lydian money if it had existed; and if it had, his universal genius—for he was the true Grecian Shakspeare—would certainly not have allowed so great an invention to pass unnoticed. Therefore, to sum up the probabilities, it appears most likely that the Lydian coinage was issued very soon after Homer's time, possibly even between 700 and 800 years B. C., and that the *second* Phidon must have been the Argean prince who first struck money in Greece, possibly about 100 years later.‡

The other gold coin (No. 1 & 2, Plate 1), with the large lion's head, Mr. Burgon, of the British Museum, considers to be of the highest antiquity belonging to coins; probably one of the first ever struck, and attributes it to Miletus, in Lydia.‖ The symbol, the lion's head, a national Lydian emblem, appears to favour this attribution. This type is also found on the coins of Cyzicus, and is there thought to allude to the worship of Cybele, who was also worshipped at Sardis. A *lion* of gold was among the presents sent by Crœsus to Delphos, when he consulted the oracle of Apollo; and other passages in ancient authors also tend to show that the lion had some connection with Lydian history. Herodotus, with his usual credulity, when repeating a legend, tells us, without qualification, that "a lion was the offspring of Metes, one of the last kings of Lydia, of the race of the Heraclidæ, and a concubine." On this occasion the Telmessian divines being consulted, ordered it to be carried round the city walls, which would render the place impregnable, which Herodotus evidently believes, for he completes the legend by stating that the lion was carried round the entire place, except at one point, where the walls were so high and so strong that no danger was apprehended; and that it was at that very point that the enemy eventually entered, and subdued

* Artificial electrum was produced at a later period by mixing a portion of silver with the gold; but this adulteration is rare, the coins of the ancients being generally of great purity.

† The two Gelo's of Sicily have led to similar uncertainty, now however cleared up. Gelo II. being the person to whom these disputed coins are now attributed.

‡ This, however, is in direct contradiction to the "Parian Chronicle." See first coinage of silver money in Greece.

‖ See Thomas' Catalogue.

No. 1.—A gold stater of Miletus, in Lydia, probably one of the first coins ever struck, which appears to have been between the years 700 and 800 B. C. (see page 26).

No. 2.—The reverse of No. 1, showing the rude punch mark of the reverse (see page 26).

No. 3.—A Lydian stater of Sardis, supposed by Mr. Borrel to be a coin of the celebrated Crœsus, who ascended the throne of Lydia, in the year 459 B. C. (see page 26).

No. 4.—A Persian daric, a coin receiving its name from Darius Hystaspes, who subdued the Greek colonies in Asia, in the year 530 B. C. The darics are supposed to be a gold coinage in imitation of the Greek staters, which the Persians found in circulation on their conquest of Asia Minor, and which they continued to coin for the use of the conquered provinces, merely substituting the Persian symbol of the archer for the Greek types with which they had been previously impressed (see page 28).

No. 5.—Is possibly the earliest *silver* coin known. It is a drachma of Ægina, the type being a rudely-executed tortoise, probably coined about 650 B. C. (see page 33).

No. 6.—A drachma of Ægina, of somewhat more recent date, the execution of the tortoise being much more careful, and the letters AI, the Greek initials of Ægina being added (see pages 33 and 117).

No. 7.—Shows the reverse of No. 6, in which it will be observed that the punch mark is no longer a mere rudely-roughed square, like No. 2, but the same purpose, that of keeping the punch steady while being struck with the coining hammer, is effected by deep indents, arranged with some attention to symmetrical regularity (see pages 33, 36, and 117).

No. 8.—An exceedingly early silver coin of Thasus, the head (apparently that of Pan or Bacchus) being possibly the earliest attempt to place a representation of the human head upon a coin, a supposition which its excessive rudeness appears to warrant (see page 35).

No. 9.—The reverse of the preceding, showing a punch mark as rude as that of the earliest Lydian gold, No 2 (see page 35).

No. 10.—A coin of Acanthus, in Macedonia, coined probably about 500 B. C. It is of uncertain value and denomination, perhaps a tridrachm, or piece of three drachms. Its attribution to Acanthus is known to be correct by comparison with more recent coins of the same place, on which the name occurs on the reverse. It is needless to add that on the later coins, the group of the bull attacked by a lion is much more finely executed (see page 36).

No. 11.—Is the reverse of No. 10, and exhibits the punch marks of much more regular character, having each of the shallow square indents, slightly more depressed on one side than the other, in the manner termed by French numismatists, "a moulin a vent" (see page 36). But this character is more plainly exhibited in other specimens.

No. 12 is a tetradrachm of Alexander I. of Macedon, who reigned from about 490 or 500 B. C. to the year 454 B. C. It is exceedingly interesting, as the first coin in existence bearing the name of a king, by which the date of its issue may be pretty nearly ascertained. It has for type, a Macedonian warrior, leading a horse; he bears two lances and wears the Macedonian hat.

No. 13.—Is the highly interesting reverse of the preceding coin. The punch mark, though not ornamental, is no longer rude, and the square marks are, for the first time, surrounded by a band, bearing a name, which may be plainly distinguished as ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ (ALEXANDRO), (see pages 37 and 38).

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the city.* The gold coins of Lydia above alluded to were called *staters* (στατηρ), a term meaning a *standard*. Of the *stater* there were many divisions; halves, quarters, &c., the smaller pieces not larger than a pea, and there were also double *staters*.

Some other gold coins have a character nearly as ancient in appearance as those attributed to Lydia; those of Abydos, celebrated as the scene of the loves of Hero and Leander, for instance. The earliest coins of Abydos have a sort of *mask* for symbol, or possibly a Medusa head. One curious example exists with a head *incused* at the back; at a later period, when well-executed reverses, instead of the rough hollow at the back, began to be used, the reverses of the Abydos coin had an anchor in relief, and the letter A, and finally an eagle was adopted as the symbol of the city. In the Hunterian Collection is a coin of very ancient character, which is supposed both by Pinkerton and more recent authorities to be a coin of Crœsus, but this is of course matter of conjecture, and if of very ancient character, as previously stated, is most likely before the time of Crœsus. The gold *stater* of Cyzicus in Mysia, of which very ancient specimens exist, was current at Athens, and varied from the usual standard weight, and also from that of Lampsacus,—this fact is mentioned on an Athenian inscription of 434 B. C. Many specimens exist. The gold state of Phocœa, of which a figure is given by Sestini, is a very curious coin, having the rude hollow punch mark of the earliest coins on the reverse, and on the obverse, a rudely-formed seal, or sea-calf (phoca), which in Greek bears the same name as the city (Φωκη), which Stephen, of Byzantium, says was adopted by the first colonists, in consequence of a great number of seals following the ship in which they emigrated from Greece; this is, therefore, what numismatists call a *speaking* type.† The coin engraved by Sestini has beneath the seal the Greek PH (Φ), the first letter of the city, and on the reverse, two rude indents or hollows, such as I have described as peculiar to the earliest stage of coinage.

Herodotus mentions gold coins of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who lived about 500 B.C.; but at that period gold staters must have been common enough in the Greek provinces of Asia Minor. The gold *stater's* and silver *drachma's* of the Greeks, which latter will be treated of in the next chapter, may be said to correspond to our sovereigns and shillings. The first gold coin of European Greece, the *stater*, coined by Philip II. of Macedon, about 350 B.C., was named after him a *Philip*,‡ as the Darics, which I am about to allude to, were after Darius,‖ just as modern continental pieces were, till recently, known as Louis d'or's, Frederick d'or's, &c., or in England, the guinea as a Jacobus. The *stater* of Philip was worth, according to the present value of gold, about £1. 3*s*. 6*d*. of our money, and represented twenty drachmæ; whilst according to the present value of silver, twenty drachmæ were only worth 16*s*. 3*d*., so that silver was at that time more valuable in proportion to gold than it is now. There were, as above stated, double staters, and half staters, also thirds, quarters, and even twelfths; many of these small gold coins are to be found in modern collections, the

* Bellé, in an article in the "Academic des Inscriptions," has attempted a sort of medallic history of Sardis.

† See chapter on types, &c.

‡ Some of these Philips, till recently, were still current in Greece by the same name.

‖ According to some writers there were also Crœsians named after Crœsus, but if so none, I believe, exist, unless he continued to coin after the *ancient* mode of the *earliest* Lydian coinage (see p. 26).

Museum has many, — there are staters and their parts, of Teios, Chios, Ephesus, &c. The Sicilian stater appears to have been copied from that of Philip of Macedon.

Greek gold coins, after the time of Philip of Macedon, became current over greater part of Greece and her colonies, and during the life of his son over the whole Macedonian empire.* The staters of Philip and Alexander were coined after the standard of the Athenian drachma, and of very fine gold; at a later period, the silver pieces of three drachmæ were also called staters.

Having treated of the gold stater attributed to Lydia, which is a coin of Grecian character, and also some of the other gold coinages of the Greeks to a period as late as Alexander the Great, I must now return to describe a distinct and peculiar gold coinage of almost equal antiquity with that of the Lydians, and which, though bearing the national symbol of Persia, is no doubt of Grecian origin. I allude to the *darics*, or gold staters named after Darius.† These coins bear the appearance, at a first glance, of even a still higher antiquity than those of Lydia or any other Greek state, for the *punch mark* at the *back* has no regular form whatever.‡ But this may be accounted for by the less skilful workmanship of Persian artisans. For it seems partly clear, from various authorities, that the Persians were unacquainted with the use of coined money previous to their conquest of the Greek provinces of Asia; and also that they then adopted the Greek coins only for the use of the conquered Greek provinces themselves. But, as a mark of appropriation, stamped them with the Persian symbol of the archer; a specimen will be found described at Plate 1, No. 4.

These gold *darics*, and afterwards the silver *darics*, of the weight of the Greek drachma, circulated over great part of Asia, even in India, where one of our recent governors of British India discovered a considerable number, which were dispatched as great curiosities to the directors of the East India Company, who, being unfortunately ignorant of their rarity, caused them to be melted down. Plutarch in his life of Agesilaus relates an anecdote relative to the Darics, in reference to their symbol of the archer. When that prince was compelled to retire from the invasion of Persia, by means of a great sum of money distributed as bribes, the Spartans said their king had been defeated by 30,000 *archers*. The Darics are very rare, partly, it is supposed, in consequence of Alexander the Great on his conquest, recoining them with the symbols of his own *staters*.

I cannot further enlarge upon the early gold coinage; that of the Greek provinces of Asia Minor certainly preceded a gold coinage in European Greece by a very considerable period, none of importance having appeared, as has been stated, earlier than the gold stater of Philip II. the father of Alexander the Great, about 350 B. C. But the gold of the Asiatic states circulated in Greece Proper during perhaps the whole of the period from their first appearance in Asia to that time; and it is on

* It will easily be understood that the staters of Philip and Alexander were no longer rude coins. But I need not further allude to them, as they will be mentioned in detail in another place.

† There are also of a somewhat later period silver Darics, which are in fact drachmæ (see also p. 18).

‡ In this particular they resemble the Lydian coins of Sardis, and from the Lydian rather than the Greek coins they may have been copied, for a partial conquest of Lydia by Darius, King of the Medes, took place about 554 B. C. ("Newton's Chronology of Babylonians and Medes"), who may at that time have imitated the money of the conquered territory and caused it to be impressed with the Persian symbol. It is possibly after this Darius that they received their name, and not Darius Hystaspes.

record that Polycrates, of Samos, about 500 B.C., defrauded the Spartans (according to Herodotus) by an adulteration of his *gold* coin.

Those who may be curious to enter more deeply into the examination of the question regarding the period of the first gold coinage, which certainly preceded that of silver, will find this interesting subject ably discussed in an elaborate paper by G. T. Grotefend, of Hanover, who has, with most laborious perseverance, collected and compared all ancient authorities upon the subject, and critically analyzed them with a judgment and precision which leaves little hope that farther investigation will lead to any new discovery from that source, on the subject of the date to be assigned to the first coined money. He sums up the whole in a postscript to this effect, "The Lydians first coined gold about 700 B.C.; the Greeks, or rather the Æginitæ, before Solon's time,* stamped silver coins; and the Romans, about the time of Servius Tullius, stamped copper." No Roman copper of that period has however come to light, and it is now pretty well ascertained that they did not coin even copper till long after the Greeks. It must be observed also, that the remarks of Grotefend are principally founded upon the authorities of ancient writers, and the ancient inscriptions that has been preserved which bear on the subject, rather than on the examination of coins, while coins themselves, says an able contributor to the "Numismatic Chronicle," form the best commentaries on themselves. In proof of this, some have doubted Pliny's and Varro's assertions, that Servius Tullius placed an image of an ox, a sheep, or a pig on the coins, stating "that none such have been found," while several are now known which are evidence for themselves, though certainly not so early as the time of Servius Tullius.†

Such are the contradictions of ancient authorities and legends, which have therefore not formed the basis of the views put forth in this work, without due examination of the monuments themselves; respecting which, the observations of any ancient author, not cotemporary, can only be accepted as collateral evidence. But public acts preserved in inscriptions or otherwise, are of course undeniable evidence, and must ever have the greatest weight in determining such questions.

* Coins are particularly referred to in the laws of Solon, promulgated about 594 B.C., and punishments assigned to forgers.

† To show the semi-fabulous character of the assertions of some ancient authors, and the contradictions of others, the following extracts will be sufficient:—Pliny says that Bacchus (that is Osiris, says the encyclopædia), first taught the art of making coined money. Herodotus says that the Lydians first coined gold. Ephorus and Strabo state that Phidon, of Argos, first coined money in Ægina. Aglaosthenes says that the people of Naxos were the first who coined gold, silver, and copper money, and also money of iron. Erechtheus says the first coined money was that of Athens. Xenophanes says money was first coined in Lydia and Lycia, and that Lycurgus was the first who coined iron money in Sparta. In Italy the ancient legends attributed the invention of money to Janus or Saturn.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST SILVER COINAGE OF EUROPE—WHETHER TO BE ATTRIBUTED TO PHIDON, PRINCE OF ARGOS, OR TO THE COMMERCIAL PEOPLE OF ÆGINA—THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE COINAGE TO THE TIME OF PHILIP II. OF MACEDON.

FROM a comparison of various authorities, and an examination of the coins of Argos and Ægina, Phidon, of Argos, or the Æginetans, seem to have been the first to coin silver money in Greece. Though some have thought that the passages upon which the claim of Phidon is founded, allude only to a reform in weight and measures—a matter, it must be borne in mind, more nearly connected with coining than now, as the earliest coins were positive representatives of the national weights.* The "Parian Chronicle" gives the credit of the first coinage to Phidon, and as it dates as far back as within about six centuries and a half of the time of Phidon himself, it is high authority. This chronicle, as it is called, consists of a series of inscriptions in Greek capitals, cut in Parian marble. It was discovered in the beginning of the seventeenth century, in the island of Paros, one of the Cyclades. The marbles on which this chronicle is engraved were purchased by the celebrated Thomas Earl of Arundel, and brought to England; and are now at Oxford. They were, as proved by internal evidence, engraved 264 years before the Christian era, most likely for Athens, as the events connected with that state are more particularly alluded to. The records consists of seventy-nine distinct statements, chronologically arranged. The first is, "Since Cecrops reigned (the first) in Athens, and gave the name of Cecropia to all the country, which previously had received that of Actica, from Actæus, who dwelt there, 1318 years have passed." A number of other events connected with early Grecian history are similarly chronicled, and the thirty-first record, or statement, is to this effect: "Since Phidon, of Argos, the eleventh from Hercules, administered the affairs of the Argians, invented weights and measures, and caused silver money to be struck in the island of Ægina, when Diognetus was Archon of Athens, 631 years have passed."

Thus is the fact clearly stated, by a very high authority; which would thus place the introduction of a silver coinage in Greece as early as B. C. 895. But, as I have remarked, in speaking of the gold coinage of Lydia, this would place the invention of money anterior to the time of Homer; and we cannot conceive that a mind like his, which has embraced everything, would have omitted to allude to a recent invention so important as that of *coined* money. It therefore seems probable that another Phidon, who reigned near 200 years later, should have been the person named by the engraver of the chronicle, instead of the Phidon of 895 B. C. But as this would be at variance with the clear statement of the chronicle, the point must ever remain a disputed

* The drachma was the ancient Greek unit of weight from which other weights were calculated, and the coin so named was also of the weight of the drachma.

one; and we must therefore content ourselves with knowing that a prince of Argos, named Phidon, was supposed by the Greeks themselves to have been the first to introduce coined money into their country; and that the precise date of the introduction must remain uncertain; but from the evidence afforded by the coins themselves, they may be considered more modern than the gold of Lydia.* Silver money, however, must have existed in Greece a very considerable time previous to the promulgation of the laws of Solon about 594 B. C., in which laws *coin* is alluded to as a thing *established*, and punishment awarded to *forgers*. Thus it may *probably* have been in circulation about a century, which would place its invention about the time of a Phidon of the seventh century before Christ, instead of the Phidon of the ninth. I would observe, also, that the passage in the "Parian Chronicle" expressly alludes to the coining of *silver*, not the invention of coining; from which we may perhaps infer that the Greeks themselves admitted that *gold* had been previously coined in Asia. Millin states that the Greek money was called *αργυρος* (silver), as the metal of their most ancient money, and possibly to distinguish it from the previous *gold* money of Asia Minor.

Previous to entering upon a detailed account of the coins of Ægina and Argos, it may be interesting to trace slightly the progress of the maritime and general influence of the Æginetans in comparison with other Greek states, and also to trace out slightly the position held in Greece by the ancestors of Phidon, King of Argos. The first recorded King of Argos is Inachus, a semi-fabulous character, according to historians, cotemporary with Abraham, 1856 B. C. Then appear, in succession, Phoroneus, Apis, and Argus; the latter, as some suppose, giving his name to the country. After several others, the claimants to the throne, Gelanor and Danaus† appear, 1474 B. C. Ægyptus then escapes the slaughter of all his brothers, and reigns. Among his immediate descendants appears Alcmena, the mother of Hercules, whose supposed amour with Jupiter has been wrought into the fable of the early history of many Grecian states. Hercules was younger by a few hours than his cousin Eurystheus, by which circumstance he was excluded from the throne, and became the slave of his relative, at whose command he performed the "twelve labours" of the fable. The throne eventually fell to Pelops, a descendant of the elder line, after whom that portion of Greece previously called Apia (the modern Moræa), was named Peloponessus. Agamemnon, the descendant of Pelops, as is well known, reigned in Argos at the time of the Trojan war, and was appointed leader of the whole Greek combined force, and is one of the favourite heroes of Homer. His grandsons, Tisamenes and Penthilus, were driven out of their kingdom by the Heraclidæ, the descendants of Hercules, the younger branch of the royal family. These Heraclidæ became the direct ancestors of Phidon, the King of Argos,

* The difficulties respecting the date of the two princes, bearing the name of Phidon, are very perplexing. Herodotus assigns to Phidon, which must be the elder, a date corresponding to B. C. 885; the "Parian Chronicle" makes it 895, and most modern writers place it about 869; while similar deeds are most confusingly assigned to both Phidons. Sir Isaac Newton unhesitatingly assigns to the second Phidon the date B. C. 584, which would place the origin of the Grecian coinage some ten years later than the laws promulgated for its protection as of established national usage. These difficulties are only to be got over by boldly placing the second Phidon about one century earlier than the date assigned by the Newtonian calculations, and which evidence yet to be discovered, may perhaps prove to be the right one.

† See page 34.

who is supposed to have first coined money in Greece, or to have called on the Æginetans to do so, who had possibly already made that important commercial step, stimulated by their increasing commercial relations; for the people of Ægina were the first Greeks distinguished for their intelligence and success in maritime commerce, and were for a long time masters of the adjoining seas.

Between the age of Homer and that of Herodotus, we find that the Greeks had spread themselves over several countries contiguous to the Mediterranean. About 600 B.C. a colony of the Phocean Greeks, who had but recently established themselves in Ionia, on the coast of Asia, quitted their new country, and founded Massilia—Marseilles. But the colonizing spirit of the Hellenic Pelasgi, or European Greeks, was most active, first filling the islands of the Archipelago, and then founding settlements in Sicily, Lower Italy, Epirus, Illyria, Thrace, Asia Minor, and the Euxine Sea, as far as Tauria and Colchis; they founded also the splendid Cyrene in Africa, and Cadiz, Rhodes, &c., in Spain. It was the maritime progress of Ægina that led the way to these enterprises; and Pinkerton calls that island the Britain in miniature of the Grecian seas. She distinguished herself above all others, as Herodotus tells us, in the great naval engagement which prostrated the maritime power of Xerxes.

But the Æginetans were not without rivals. Psammitichus, who was the first Egyptian King to favour commerce, opened his ports to foreigners, and above all encouraged the Greeks. Nechao, his grandson, endeavoured to unite the Red Sea and Mediterranean, and employed Phœnicians to circumnavigate Africa. In the time of Vaphres, grandson of Nechao, the Egyptians are said to have had the command of the Mediterranean; but the devastations of Nebuchadnezzar, and the subsequent conquest by Cambyses, put an end to the commercial career of Egypt, so that Sidon, Tyre, Carthage, and especially Greece and Sicily, were all enriched by commerce carried on in Egyptian ports, in which marine traffic the Egyptians themselves were no more seen, and among the Greeks who profited by this state of things the Æginetans were the foremost.

The history of Greece is sometimes divided into four epochs—the first extends from the foundation of the petty kingdoms, the earliest of which was Sicyon, to the siege of Troy about 1000 B. C., all of which period is more or less fabulous—the next, from the taking of Troy to the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes—the third, from the beginning of the reign of Darius to the death of Alexander the Great—the fourth and last, from Alexander's death to the Roman subjugation. But numismatically speaking, I shall only divide it into two periods—first from the earliest coining of silver money in Ægina, probably about 700 B. C., to the reign of Alexander I., when the first coins appeared which were complete on both sides, and to which, in consequence of their bearing the name of the prince, a date may be assigned, that of 499 B. C. My second period will extend from 499 B. C., to the subjugation of the country by the Romans, which includes the finest period of Greek art, as exhibited by its coins, as well as in its sculpture and architecture.

After this brief sketch of the ancestors of Phidon, and of the maritime eminence of Ægina, and also the mode of division of periods which I shall adopt, I must return to the early coins of Ægina, connected with the name of Phidon by the records alluded to. They may, perhaps, be considered as those of a dependency of Argos, over which Phidon held some authority, but which yet bear the emblems of Ægina

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 2.

THE EARLIEST COINAGE OF MAGNA-GRÆCIA AND SICILY.

No. 1.—A didrachm, or two-drachm piece, of the celebrated city of Sybaris, founded by th Greeks in the south of Italy. In this region a different mode of coining was adopted ; th pieces of metal used for the coins were much flatter and thinner, and the design of th obverse is repeated in an *incused*, or sunk form, on the reverse. A bull, treated in th early or archaic style of art, is the type of the first coins of Sybaris. The inscription is som times written from right to left on these coins, and with the old form of the S or sigm M instead of Σ ; it stands on the present coin ϒ M, which, written in the modern manne from left to right, would be Σϒ. (SY.), the initial letters of Sybaris. This coin is probabl as early as the year 600 B. C. (see pages 43 and 46).

No. 2.—The *incused* reverse of No. 1.

No. 3.—Another didrachm of Magna-Græcia, of the city of Posidonia. Its type is Poseido (the Greek name of Neptune), from whose name that of the city was derived. The inscrip tion, like that of the Sybaritan coins, is written from right to left, and stands ΜΟΠ instead of ΠΟΣ (POS), the initials of Posidonia (see page 44).

No. 4.—The incused reverse of No. 3.

Nos. 5 and 6.—The obverse and reverse of a didrachm of Sybaris (see No. 1), under its new nam of Thurium. The style of coinage has been, at this period, entirely changed ; the usua Greek form and thickness being adopted; and the head of Minerva instead of the old typ of the bull, occupies the obverse, which is now placed on the reverse, with the name Thurium in the genitive case, ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ (THOUPIŌN), "of the Thurians," or "o Thurium," the word *money* being understood; so that the inscription, as on the grea majority of Greek coins after the earliest periods, expresses "*money* of Thurium," as th inscription on the coins of Alexander the Great, "ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ," expresses "money Alexander." The H below the name is probably the initial letter of a magistrate, which became usual to place on Greek coins, and which is sometimes found at full length (se pages 43 and 44).

No. 7.—A coin of Sicily, which, as exhibiting the progress of the art, should come next aft No. 13, in Plate 1. It exhibits the next stage of the punch-mark of the reverse, in which small head of Proserpine is introduced.

No. 8.—Is the obverse of No. 7 ; it has for type, a figure conducting a *biga*, or two-hor chariot. It is of curious and interesting archaic character, forming the next step in advan of No. 12. Plate 1. The inscription is ΣΥΡΑ (SYRA), being part of ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟ (SYRAKOSION), "of the Syracusans." This coin may have been struck about 490 B. C. (se pages 48 and 49).

Nos. 9 and 10.—The obverse and reverse of a rare medallion of Syracuse, only two of whic are known to be in existence. It is of a curious and interesting period of archaic Sicilia art, and is one of the earliest specimens of a complete coin, when the punch with which th reverse was struck had become a perfect die, like that of the obverse. In this instance, th small head of Proserpine, in the punch-mark of No. 7, has become a large and well-executed head, surrounded by dolphins, one of the principal emblems of the Syracusans, and has the ful inscription ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ ; it now forms the obverse or principal side of the coin, whil the *biga* is removed to the reverse. It is supposed to be of the period of Gelo I., who die 478 B. C., and is possibly one of the coins called Damaretia, after the name of the Queen Gelo I., and as being coined from the proceeds of fifty talents of gold, presented to he by the Carthaginians. These coins are known also as pentacolitræ, weighing fift litræ, but in modern cabinets they are generally called decadrachms, being of the valu of ten drachmæ (see page 49).

Pl. 2.

BY HARCLAY'S PROCESS, 33, GERRARD STREET, LONDON.

and not than those of Argos. Some of the earliest coins of Ægina may have been struck before the time of Phidon, who, finding the Æginetans in possession of this invention, introduced a general reform in the weights and measures of his states, and employed the Æginetans to coin money for him. This view is supported by the fact, that the coins of *Argos* have a different and distinct device. The Æginetans were evidently very early proficients in the arts; their peculiar style of sculpture has been termed *Æginetan*, and is a very peculiar branch of Archaic art. Their earliest coins have a very rude turtle, or tortoise, on one side, and a hollow punch mark of distinct deep indents at the back (see Plate 1, No. 5). Between this and the second specimen on Plate 1, Nos. 6 and 7, several intermediate stages of these coins are found, for they are very abundant. No. 6 exhibits a great advance in art, and bears for device a well-executed tortoise, and also the letters A and G, the initial letters of the name of the state, the first example of a practice that soon became general throughout Greece. Afterwards a dolphin was placed in one of the compartments of the back. Some have thought that the tortoise of the early Æginetan money, as well as the shield or buckler of the Bœotian coins, and even the rude Pegasus of those of Corinth, were imitations of the Egyptian symbol; the scarabæus, proving that the Greek coinage was an imitation of an Egyptian one.* But the more sober theory appears to be that the European Greeks simply copied the gold coinage of their Asiatic brethren, and not having gold at command used their native silver;† and that the Æginetans should have been the first to do this, is not wonderful when we consider that their commercial eminence, even as late as the time of Pericles was such, that Ægina was termed the eyesore of the Piræus.

The fact of Phidon‡ having employed them to execute his Argive money for him, is stated to this effect by Mr. Borrel‖—"The Æginetans continued their symbol of the tortoise with religious veneration as long as they remained an independent people. But coins have been recently examined, which, though evidently of Æginetan fabric and weight, have not that device, but on the contrary, the device of Argos;" and these are most probably the very coins executed by the artistic and commercial islanders for the Argian prince, whose sovereign position has gained for him, through a long succession of ages, the credit due to the ingenious traders, whose ideas and skill he borrowed.

The coin on which this theory is founded has two dolphins, and at the back an indented square. It is proved by other monuments that these dolphins§ were a symbol early used by the Argians, though its origin is not known, and though

* See page 18.

† Silver was abundant in Greece; the silver mines of Larium were at a short distance from Athens.

‡ A great mistake has occurred among numismatists in assigning a Bœotian coin to Phidon which has PΦΔO evidently the name of a magistrate—the coin is one of Thebes—and more modern by 600 years than Phidon.

‖ N. Chron. v. 43.

§ Former numismatists, for want of sufficient data for the study of national types, have often created great confusion by the attribution of coins to places to which they do not belong. Thus Pellerin had no idea of separating the coins of Argos and Ægina, in consequence of not knowing the type of the two dolphins. He attributed a coin of Argos with A between two dolphins, and an early indented back, to Ægium, and then classed with it quite a different style of coin of a very much later period, which has the whole word AIΓIEΩN, and the monogram of Achaia, and on the other side a head of Jupiter, with the name of a magistrate at full length, Aristodamus, APICTOΔAMOC, the C or square sigma being used as S, as is frequent on coins of some Macedonian and other places at a particular period.

abandoned for a time, it was afterwards resumed. Thus, this piece of money, if properly assigned, is the earliest regal coin in existence; it is a drachma of the Ægina standard, and exactly similar to those coins, except in device. A wolf afterwards became the symbol of Argos, from the following legend, and the two dolphins are afterwards found in conjunction with the wolf device. The wolf is sacred to the Lycian Apollo, so called from Lycos, a wolf—it is stated in the fable that a wolf assisted Danaus, who imagined that it was the god in that form, to whom he in consequence erected a temple. The fable states that, "the claims of Gelanor and Danaus to the throne of Argos were nearly balanced, but when the people were assembled to decide the question, a wolf rushed upon a drove of oxen, and seized upon a bull." The Argians assimilated the bull to Gelanor, and the wolf to Danaus, to whom, as the conqueror, they gave the kingdom.*

Some early coins of Argos have a large A, with the caps of the Dioscuri; and the heads of both a wolf and a bull in commemoration of the event, also occur on coins of Argos (as attributed by Mr. Borrel). These latter coins are of a comparatively late period, and on the obverse is a beautiful female head, apparently of Juno, who was worshipped by the Argians, as proved by a passage of Pausanias who describes the exquisite statue by Polycletus, of gold and ivory, in her temple at Argos; however, it is possible the head may represent Ariadne, who was also venerated at Argos, and buried there. Such are the main features of the statement of Mr. Borrel.

Argos, to which state the Grecian peninsula appears to be indebted for the first introduction of coined money early took the lead in Grecian affairs. Agamemnon, King of Argos, was the leader of the chivalry of Greece in the Trojan war, and Argos was destined to take the lead again under Phidon, in one of the most important of the arts of peace; for he was the first of the Greek princes to adopt and systematize a coinage in the Grecian peninsula. Once introduced, its evident advantages caused it to spread with the greatest rapidity, for even in Macedonia coins of a very early class occur, which, however, may be partly accounted for by the circumstance that the reigning families were closely connected—Caranus of Macedon the cotemporary of Phidon, being also descended from the Heraclidæ.† But this extraordinary advance in the facilitation of all commercial exchanges did not only spread over the whole of the Hellenic peninsula but also to the colonies, many of which have coins belonging to almost the earliest periods, even of the distant Massilia (Marseilles) coins are found with the primitive indented back, though not of quite so primitive a character as the gold of Sardis, or the earliest silver of Ægina.

Though the Argian and Æginetan coins have been shown to be most probably the earliest European coined money, yet there are coins of other places that approach them very closely in antiquity. The early coins of Naxos, for instance, appear from their mode of fabric, to be nearly as ancient; indeed some ancient writers, among others Agloasthenes, have stated that they were the inventors of coins; they have generally a head of Bacchus, or Pan, and on coins of somewhat later date, the head of Bacchus executed in the style or period of art termed Archaic, is very fine.

* Pausanias.

† The supposition that the early development of the art of coining in Macedonia which was by the Greeks considered a barbarous country, may be accounted for by its early connection with Argos, is borne out by the fact that the weight used was that of Ægina and Argos, and not the Attic drachma.

There are coins of Thasus, also, of exceedingly ancient fabric; one in the British Museum attributed to Thasus is perhaps the earliest example known of the portraiture of the human head on a coin, it is Nos. 8 and 9, on Plate 1. The coin appears very much corroded, but the workmanship was no doubt originally very rude, and the execution of the head belongs to the most primitive style of art, while the large single square punch mark at the back is more like that of the early Asiatic gold than that of any other coin I have examined. On comparing it with those coins of Naxos of a late period, bearing the head of Bacchus, I should feel almost inclined to attribute this coin also to Naxos, and consider this head as the first rude idea of the type that eventually became the fine head of Bacchus above described; for the difference in the style of fabric may be accounted for by the widely different period of execution. If this coin, therefore, should ultimately be attributed to Naxos, it will tend very much to strengthen the evidence of Aglaosthenes that the Naxians were the first Greeks who coined money.*

We may easily imagine that islands, from the absolute necessity of exchanging their limited produce against the more various and abundant commodities of continental nations, would be the earliest to adopt the convenient medium of coined money, and whether it was the Naxians or the people of Ægina does not appear important, nor interfere with the claim of Argos as the first state of continental Greece, or of Phidon, as the first Greek prince, to adopt the use of coins.

These are silver coins of Lampsacus in Mysia, which also belong to the earliest period of the art, their type being a sea horse; and of Ephesus, with the rude figure of a bee for type, and five rude and deep indents or punch marks at the back. Chalcedonia, in Bythinia, also coined silver at a very early period.

Later coins with the name of the place, or its initials, and bearing the same types as early ones, enable numismatists to attribute the early ones, which are without name or initials, correctly; so that, as a general (but not unexceptionable) rule, the student, if he becomes possessed of a very early coin may ascertain the place of its issue by referring to later coins with the same types, which are accompanied by a name. But this assistance is not in every case to be depended on, as the types of cities or nations were in many instances changed after the early period of their history; the mode or style of fabric, and the examination of the early legends of the people to whom the coin is supposed to belong, must also aid the student in his attribution of an early coin.

Very early coins of Clazomenæ, in Ionia, have a winged boar as type, and others of similar character, of the same place, have a ram.

The town of Dyrrhachium, on the coast of Illyria, adopted the use of coins at a very early period, which shows how rapidly the invention spread itself, not only among the more civilized Greeks but also to the semi-barbarous nations surrounding them. The art may have been first communicated to Italy and Sicily from this coast, and the similarity of some of the Illyrian types to those of the countries named favours the supposition. On a very ancient coin of Dyrrhachium, figured by Pellerin, the four punch marks at the back appear of very primitive character, the obverse bears for type a cow suckling a calf.

* Pellerin considers the very rude coins with Thasian types to be copies of Thasian coins by neighbouring barbarous nations who traded with them.

Having now said all that appears necessary in the space of this short treatise respecting the earliest coins of silver, I must proceed to point out the gradual progress of their fabrication, from the roughly punched back, to an arrangement of a more decorative character. In the Asiatic gold the punch mark was generally an irregular square made *rough*, somewhat similar to the stonework in architecture termed rusticated; which was done, as before explained, to prevent slipping. In the earliest silver of Greece the punch mark generally consists of five deep wedgelike indents which in later specimens became gradually more regular, till they eventually form themselves into a pretty symmetrical square (see Plate 1, No. 7).

The punch marks in the *second* stage, which were at first very deep, became gradually shallower; the last stage of the square punch without device, being four small square indents forming collectively one large one (Plate 1, No. 11). Of this form there is a variety called by the French, *moulin à vent*, in which each indent shelves in deeper at one side than the other, which effect, repeated in the four small squares successively, certainly resembles the disposition of the sails of a windmill (Plate 2, No. 8). Punch marks are occasionally but very rarely found of circular form; and still more rarely the triangular or square compartments appear on the coin in *relief* instead of being *indented*. In the Persian darics the back intent has no defined form, but this has been alluded to in another place. The square punch mark eventually became decorated, an improvement which took place something less than 500* years before Christ. The first step towards *ornament* being the introduction of a single letter, then two, then a word, &c., as will be noticed in its proper place.

In the early stages of the advance of the square punch mark, towards the formation of an ornamental reverse, the *first* step of complication was uniting one or more of the small squares with a diagonal line, as in No. 7, Plate 1; then, as I have said, the introduction of a single letter, the initial of the state where the coin was struck, afterwards two letters, and eventually at a much later period the whole name. The punch marks becoming gradually shallower till they formed a sort of ornamental chequer of four squares, eventually surrounded by a band, which contained an entire name. These two varieties are exhibited in Nos. 11 and 13, Plate 1.

As examples of this progress I may name the coins of Ænus and Ænia—the first a town of Thrace, the last of Macedonia—both said to be founded by Æneas, these coins show the progress from the initial letter to the complete name. They have for principal type a large head, with a round cap, said to be the head of Æneas; and the inscription "AINION, AINI, or ANOIIN." At a certain period the punch marks at the back become much more shallow, as in the back of the fine coin of Acanthus, in Macedonia, Nos. 10 and 11, Plate 1., which has the spirited, though barbarous, group of the lion and bull.

The earliest perfect name on a Greek coin is that of a prince, not of a city or people; it is on that of Alexander I., King of Macedon (Plate 1, Nos. 12 and 13). The back of this interesting coin has the shallow punch mark of four squares, and round them the band, above alluded to, which bears the inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ.

This coin of Alexander I. of Macedon, is the first coin to which a positive date

* This is a proof that the coins attributed to Crœsus cannot be his, as the backs correspond with a mode of fabrication full 200 years earlier.

can be assigned, and is therefore highly interesting, as marking an epoch in numismatic history, after which much more order may be introduced into the attribution and classification of coins. It is the first known monarchic coin in the world that can be identified by a written name, and to which, consequently, a positive date can be assigned—that of near 500 years before Christ, a high antiquity, which lends additional interest to this important monument. These coins of Alexander I. are rare, especially with the *name*. In the British Museum there is another coin of the same prince, struck previous to the time of the introduction of the name, which is in much finer preservation; but I of course preferred, as an example, the one with the name, notwithstanding its inferior beauty. Some may suggest that I might, (as I have done in other instances) have taken the fine obverse of one and the interesting reverse of the other. But in this instance I considered the coin too important not to give it entire.

As the first great step towards the completion of a perfect *reverse* appears by this coin of Alexander I. to have been made in the coins of the Macedonian dynasty, it may be most convenient to trace the farther steps towards perfection by means of the same series, which exhibit its different steps very graphically, and being coins of princes, afford the advantage of positive dates, which the coins of cities and republican states seldom do.

After the period of art marked by the coin of Alexander I. the advance was very rapid, but the square punch mark long continued a traditionary form, even in decorations of a highly artistic character on the reverses of coins, and was occasionally used even in the finest period, long after the art of producing beautiful impressions on both sides had been in use. But these late devices, founded on the form of the ancient *square* punch mark, were of course beautifully executed, and generally formed of a band containing a beautifully written name,* enclosing a symbol, or head, often of the finest execution.

The advance of the arts in Greece from about the period of the great victory over the Persians at Salamis, at which period Alexander I. reigned in the then obscure kingdom of Macedon, to that of Pericles, the great Athenian, who was at the zenith of his power and influence about 440 B. C., was, as I have said, most rapid. For in the space of less than fifty years it emerged from Archaism to the highest style that art has ever yet attained; of which we need no stronger evidence than the noble marbles in the British Museum, exquisite works torn from the Parthenon by Lord Elgin, which, as is well known, are the works of the great sculptor Phidias, the friend and cotemporary of Pericles.

The Macedonians were regarded by the Greek states as a semi-barbarous people, and yet the execution of their coins would not lead to that inference. It is possible, as I have previously suggested, that the art of coining was introduced into Macedonia even in the time of Phidon, Caranus, a prince of the same family being King of Macedon at that time, while the weights of the coins also agreeing with those of Ægina and Argos, and not with those of Athens, as before observed, favour the supposition. However that may be, the monuments themselves

* The letters, when first introduced on coins were, according to Cellini, made with a *graver*, and were of course more or less irregular; they were afterwards executed with a well-finished punch.

prove that the earliest coins of Macedon are equal to any of Greece of the same date; and if in a more advanced stage they have not all the refinement of art of those of some of the Greek states, they are yet fine and striking pieces, boldly executed in sharp, high relief, and bear a comparison, if not with all, yet with those of many states, whose celebrity in art was the greatest, especially those of Athens, where, from some extraordinary and unexplained cause, fine art was never bestowed upon the coinage.

The following is the generally accepted chronology of the princes who preceded Alexander I. in Macedon. Caranus, cotemporary of Phidon, is said to have reigned about 887 B. C.; Cœnus died 779: Thurimus reigned till 767; Perdiccas I. till 729; Argeus till 697; Philip I. till 640; Eropas till 602; Alcetas till 576; Amyntas I. till 547. Some other unrecorded prince probably helped to fill up the period of fifty-three years till the accession of Alexander I.

ALEXANDER I. of Macedon, whose coins have been previously described,* reigned from about 490 or 500 B. C. to 454, and was succeeded by

PERDICCAS II., who reigned from 454 to 413 B. C. The coins of this prince exhibit already an advance in art. The obverse has for type a horse, galloping, which though still of somewhat of Archaic character, is executed with great spirit, in strong relief. The reverse has the square punch mark, in which is a helmet, and the letters PERDIK (ΠΕΡΔΙΚ), part of the name of Perdiccas. This is already the age of Phidias, but we do not in this reign observe art of a remarkable character on the coins of Macedon.

ARCHELAUS I., succeeded his father Perdiccas in 413, and reigned until 399 B.C.; some of his coins have the Macedonian type of Alexander I., the horse and warrior bearing two spears and letter A.; and for reverse, a goat within a flat square punch mark. Another has a fine portrait-like head,† with a bandelet, which, if really a portrait, is probably the earliest known; the reverse has a horse, with the letters ARKELAO (ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟ). This period is that of some of the finest art found on Greek coins; the noble medallions of Syracuse, with the head of Proserpine, probably belonging to this epoch, as well as some of the finest money of the Opuntian Locris, and possibly some of the exquisite gold of Tarentum.‡

AEROPUS succeeded Archelaus, and reigned from 399 to 394 B.C. There are small silver coins with the head of Hercules clothed in the lion skin by way of head-gear, in the style of the coins afterwards struck by Alexander the Great; on the reverse is a wolf and a club, with the letters AERO (ΑΕΡΟ). Others have a head with a flat cap or hat, and others a head with a simple bandelet. These heads with a royal bandelet, on the early Macedonian coins, appear to be portraits, and if so, they are the earliest examples existing of portraiture on money. There are small *copper* coins of Aeropus which may rank among the earliest copper that are known, if they are not the very earliest.

PAUSANIAS succeeded Aeropus, 394 B. C., and though he reigned but one year, there are coins that bear his name, having on the obverse a head, apparently a portrait, with a regal bandelet, and on the reverse, a horse standing in repose, with

* At pages 36 and 37.
† Tresor Numismatique.
‡ See chapter on coins of Sicily and Magna Græcia.

the letters PAUSANIA (ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ). There is a coin of this King of Macedon, with a horseman on one side, and on the horse an imitation of a *branded* mark of a caduceus. Arrian says that the brand mark on Alexander's favourite horse was that of a bull's head, which was the circumstance from which the horse was called Bucephalus.

AMYNTAS II., reigned from 393 to 369 B.C.; his coins have a horseman galloping, and holding a lance, and the reverse has a lion holding a broken spear, within a slightly marked square, and AMYNT. Some of the coins of this prince exhibit all the grandeur of execution of the school of Phidias, and though not carefully finished, must rank very high as works of art, as may be seen by the coin on Plate 3. This coin has on the obverse, the Macedonian warrior wearing the national cap or hat, the figures being of most spirited execution,* far superior to that of the same type on the subsequent coins of Phillip II.; the reverse is a lion, of fine heraldic character, placing his fore paw on a club. All these attributes of Hercules on the Macedonian series of coins are in allusion to the descent of the regal dynasty from the Heraclidæ. There are other coins of Amyntas with the head of Hercules in a lion-skin, and on the reverse, an eagle killing a serpent, (a copper coin), typical perhaps of his driving Pausanias from the throne of Macedon; for, in the person of this prince, the family of Caranus was restored. The helmet, frequently found on this series of coins, is probably that of Caranus; the eagle is a type common to Epirus and Arcanania. This coin of Amyntas II. is the last of the series that shows any trace of the square punch mark at the back.

ALEXANDER II. reigned from 369 to 367 B.C. In the "Tresor Numismatique" bronze coins are attributed to him of fine workmanship; one has the Hercules head with lion's-skin head-dress; with a fine biga, or car, drawn by two horses, on the reverse, like the coins afterwards struck by Phillip II. Two other coins attributed to this prince, which are of much ruder workmanship.

PERDICCAS III. reigned from 364 to 359 B.C. A silver didrachm and several bronze coins are attributed to him; the former has a head of Hercules with lion's-skin, the reverse, a horse walking, with a club beneath, and PERDICCA (ΠΕΡΔΙΚΚΑ). The square mark of the punch at back has now quite disappeared, which prevents the possibility of the coin being attributed to a former Perdiccas.

PHILIP II., the father of Alexander the Great, succeeded Perdiccas, but the coins of Philip mark a new era in the Macedonian coinage, and will form the subject of the commencement of the chapter on the coins of Alexander the Great and the dynasties which arose on the subdivision of his empire. At this period, and indeed from Amyntas II., even in Macedon the coins had become perfect on both sides, that is, had a *reverse* equal in execution to the *obverse*, and yet up to this time, and till long afterwards, they did not understand the use of any process analagous to the *collar* used in modern coinage, which accounts for the irregular form of almost all ancient coins. Another imperfection in their mode of coinage is, that they did not understand hardening their dies, so that but comparatively few

* The horseman is placed so much on one side of the coin that the effect is much injured; but the Greek moneyers or coiners did not understand the use of the *collar*, by which the form of the piece of metal is kept circular, and a central place secured to the device on the coin.

coins could be struck from the same ; a defect for which we have every reason to be grateful, as in consequence of the continual renewal of dies, the number of variations in the types, and their treatment, has been most wonderfully multiplied, and in a manner, important testimony of historical facts, has been frequently thus preserved to us.

Having now examined the progress of Greek art up to the period when the most perfect mode of mechanical manipulation was adopted for the production of both sides of the coin, it will be necessary before alluding to the finest coins produced by the Greeks, to examine the peculiar and remarkable progress in the art of coining by her western colonies in Italy and Sicily. But in concluding this chapter I will refer to some of the best works which treat of the origin and progress of Greek coinage in its early stages.

The best treatise on the carliest modes of fabrication and the progress from the rude punch mark to more complicated forms of the same mode of operation, is still that of the accomplished archæologist the Abbé Barthelémi, the celebrated author of the "Voyage d'Anacharsis," in his treatise entitled (I believe) "Essaie d'une Paleographie Numismatique." I need not inform my readers that his "Voyage d'Anacharsis" is the most complete picture of Greek civilization, manners, *customs* and philosophy that has ever been attempted ; while the manner of imparting the result of his immense stores of learning, through the medium of the supposed journal of a traveller passing through Greece for the purposes of study, at the most interesting period of her greatness, is so pleasing, as to render the book not only one perfectly crammed with classical information, but at the same time charming light reading.* It occurred to the late M. Dumersan to write a numistic accompaniment to the "Voyage d'Anacharsis," which he entitled "Numismatique du Voyage d'Anacharsis." This is a very pretty book, and gives good engravings of the coins of most of the states of Greece ; but they are generally selected from coins of the finest period of the art, and consequently do not exhibit its *progress*, which is perhaps the most interesting part of the study. M. Dumersan is an example of extreme versatility of talent, and a proof that archæological studies do not necessarily, as some have imagined, destroy a taste for imaginative literature. M. Dumersan, though placed in a responsible situation in charge of the national French collection of medals, in acknowledgement of his careful study of the subject, and due to the reputation he had gained in that field of laborious study, was also a brilliant writer of lively *vaudevilles ;* of which he produced an immense number, nearly all successful. I need only refer to "Les Anglaises pour rire," and "Les Saltimbanques," to prove that he stood in the first rank of that class of authors. His death this year has been a great loss to two very opposite and distinct classes of literature, that of archeology, and the light drama.

Mionnet, in his great work, has exhibited in a few appended plates, much of the early progress of manipulation in the Greek coinage, but the examples are neither chronologically arranged, nor are they, as it appears to me, well selected for exhibiting

* The idea was founded upon the real journey to Greece, and residence there, of the Scythian Anacharsis, for the purpose of informing himself of the laws and customs of the Greeks, and returning to civilize his barbarous countrymen. The Scythian Philosopher Anacharsis is recorded to have resided in Greece in the forty-seventh Olympian, about B. C. 590.

the gradual development of the art, which possibly was not precisely the object which the author had in view.

In forming a collection intended to exhibit this progress of the art, the student perhaps could not do better than collect a series of the coins of Chios, which would, perhaps, better than those of any other single state, exhibit the whole development of that art, from a very early period, even to the decline, and would, if less complete, perhaps do so more vividly than a miscellaneous collection from various places.

I have condensed into a short summary, in the form of a description of Plate 1, the rise and early progress of the supposed *first* gold, and *first* silver coinages, which will embody the substance of Chapters III. and IV., so that the student may there see at a glance the main results of the matter contained in those pages.

CHAPTER V.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ART OF COINAGE, IN MAGNA GRÆCIA AND SICILY.

IN the course of the eighth century before the Christian era the Greeks were actively engaged in colonizing the coasts of the Mediterranean, and several settlements were established in Southern Italy, which, favoured by the situation, climate, and soil, rapidly advanced in population and civilization; and other colonies pouring in, nearly the whole of the southern portion of that peninsula was occupied by Hellenic settlements, and hence received the name of Magna Græcia—a name sometimes conferred also on Sicily, for similar reasons; and sometimes the term includes both Southern Italy and Sicily, but I shall only use it as applying to the Grecianised portion of South Italy. Here, the Greeks, who intuitively possessed the power of inculcating a love of the arts wherever they settled, soon developed the art of coinage which they received from the mother country, and in which, in some respects, their taste and skill surpassed those of the parent state.

The work of Mr. Millingen on the coins of ancient Italy, previous to the rise of the Roman power, is at the present time, perhaps, the most copious and best authority on the subject. He considers the coins of these Greek colonies undoubtedly the earliest Italian coins: though some have thought the rude copper of the Etrurian, Oscan, and Latian states to belong to an earlier epoch. But the arguments of Mr. Millingen, combined with a careful examination of the coins themselves, induce me to consider the latter opinion untenable. In this place I propose only to notice the *Greek* coins, as the early Etrurian, Latian, &c., will find their proper place at the commencement of the Roman series.

The Greek coins of the Achaian colonies of the south of Italy, are the earliest of their class, and Mr. Millingen appears disposed to consider them the earliest Greek coins of any description to which a positive date may be attached. Sybaris was founded by the Achaians in the fourteenth Olympiad, 721 B. C., and destroyed in the sixty-seventh Olympiad, 510 B. C.; thus the coins of that place must have been executed between those two periods, while the earliest dated coins of Greece, or rather Macedon, those of Alexander I., are only 490 B. C. The earliest coins of Sybaris, and indeed nearly all the cotemporary Grecian states of South Italy, are of a peculiar fabric not found elsewhere.* Instead of being *thick*, and evidently struck from a *spherical lump*, like the early Greek coins of Ægina and Thebes, and of the Asiatic colonies of Cyzicus, Phocæa, &c. &c., they are *thin* and *flat*, with a well-executed device, of archaic feeling, and very sharp relief on the principal side, while

* One or two very ancient small coins of similar make have recently been discovered of other places.

on the reverse the same figure appears in *hollow* (see Nos. 1 and 2, Plate 2). This singular variety of coins are termed *incused*, that is, struck in, and belong to the very earliest period of the Magna Græcian coinage, forming a singular contrast to the earliest coins of Greece and Asia Minor.*

The incused coins of Sybaris belong to a very early period. It has been stated that the city was destroyed 510 B. C., and during the latter portion of this period this peculiar style of coinage had been abandoned for the more usual Greek style, with which it appears to have been practised cotemporaneously, previous to its total abandonment; so that, supposing the usual Greek style to have been discontinued only from about sixty or eighty years previous to the destruction of the city, it would place the execution of this singular *incused* coinage nearly 600 years before Christ, full a century before the coins of Alexander I. of Macedon. It is not necessary here even to sketch the well-known history of Sybaris, suffice it to say that it rapidly rose to great prosperity, and that it was, after a career of luxury that has been dwelt upon by many ancient historians, destroyed by its rivals of Crotona, a colony whose leading citizens had very frequently triumphed in the Olympic games. The first coins of Sybaris have for type a bull (see Plate 2, Nos. 1 and 2); No. 2 showing the back of the coin, *incused* with the same figure, as above described. Their weight was generally two drachms. The symbol of the bull is common to many other towns of Magna Græcia, especially those of Achaian origin, and is found on those of Siris, Pandosia, and Laos; and the bull with human face, on those of Neapolis (Naples), and also on the coins of some Sicilian towns—Gela, for instance.

The Sybaritan coins of the second period have still the bull on one side, but the other side, instead of having the same figure in *hollow*, have a figure of Neptune, in relief, thus exhibiting specimens of coins perfect on both sides, previous to 510 B. C. The coins with the Neptune, coined after the return of the Sybaritans to their city, subsequent to its first destruction, Mr. Millingen supposes them to have been struck in commemoration of the reception and protection afforded them by the Posidonians during the reconstruction of their city: Neptune being the monetary symbol of the Posidonians.

The third class of Sybaritan money appears to have been struck subsequent to the second destruction of Sybaris and its re-establishment by the aid of the Athenians; and we find on the coins of Sybaris of this third period, the head of Minerva, the tutelar deity of Athens, with a wreath of laurel on the helmet, doubtless in compliment to their new allies, the Athenians. This head is at first of a somewhat severe character, though often fine, especially in the later specimens of the type (see Plate 2, Nos. 5 and 6). These coins still preserve the ancient type of the bull, but it now occupies the reverse. The original Sybaritans, being eventually driven out of the city by a portion of the inhabitants who were of different races, the name was changed by the other colonists to *Thurium*, from that

* An accidental species of *incused* coin occurs sometimes in the coins of states where that mode of coinage was not practised, and such accidental productions are much valued by those who seek only the curious in the science of numismatics. These accidental incused coins appear to have been produced by the coin in the die having adhered to the punch, and a fresh piece of metal being placed in the die, the moneyer, without perceiving it, must have struck the fresh piece of metal into the die with the former coin still fixed to the end of the punch, so making an incused impression, instead of the proper reverse, on the back of the fresh coin.

of a neighbouring spring, a usual mode of naming a town at that period; the new name occurs first on coins of the types Nos. 5 and 6, Plate 2. The coins of Sybaris, or rather Thurium, soon after this period, may be classed among the finest of Magna Græcia, of the finest period; the head of Minerva is continued, but instead of the wreath of laurel on the helmet, we now find a *chimera*, or rather, the monster Scylla, in some allusion possibly to the dangers of the celebrated strait separating Magna Græcia from Sicily, which may have been braved by the Athenians who came to their assistance. The execution of the head, and all the details of the helmet, are of extraordinary beauty, and little less worthy of admiration is the superb bull, the ancient national symbol, still occupying the reverse (see Plate 3, Nos 1 and 2).

The Crotonians, the conquerors of the Sybarites, and eventually the most powerful of the Magna Græcians, and head of the Achaian confederation, followed the same course of progress in the manufacture of their coins as the Sybaritans, producing eventually many fine pieces. They were also highly skilled in all gymnastic games, and in twenty-six Olympiads, carried off the prize thirteen times. It is interesting to observe the enthusiasm with which all Greeks flocked to the Olympic games, even when separated by a long sea voyage from the scene of that great Hellenic festival. The commonest devices of the coins of Crotona, are, during the incused period, a *tripod;* and when the perfect reverse was accomplished, it was occupied by *Hercules* in various actions, according to the Crotonian version of his adventures, in which he is considered the founder of the city. On one rare coin of Crotona, a river near the city is personified, the Æsaros, the inscription is ΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ, thus defining possibly the ancient site of the city. On others, the connection of the town with Corinth is shown by the Pegasus. The early incused coins of Crotona have, as I have stated, only the tripod for type, and the same in hollow at the back; some have inscriptions KPO and also TE, alluding, says Avellino, the Neapolitan archæologist, to an alliance with Temesa.

Posidonia, the modern Pæstum, was one of the most flourishing of the Magna Græcian towns; it was founded by a colony from Sybaris, and did not forget to succour its parent in the hour of distress, as before alluded to. The coins on Plate 2, No. 3, is a coin of Posidonia, of the early incused period. The type of Posidonian coins is always Poseidon, or Neptune, brandishing his trident; the Greek name of Neptune giving its name to the city. Posidonian coins have, when perfect reverses were adopted, the old symbol of the parent state, the bull. The inscription, in Phœnician characters, found on some Posidonian coins, has not been satisfactorily explained. Their types afterwards varied, and among others, the head of Pallas, of Thurium, is copied.

The town of Velia had very early coins, with the four irregular square marks, like very early Grecian coins, on the back; rarely, if ever, found on other coins of Magna Græcia.

Tarentum was the most uniformly prosperous, and the longest in a flourishing state, of any of the Greek cities of Southern Italy; a fact, perhaps, to be attributed to its constitution, formed of a mixture of plebeian and patrician elements, like that of Rome and Sparta, in which the public employments were open to both classes; but its position on a tongue of land rendering it inaccessible, except on one side, may also have contributed to the long duration of its power.

The coins of Tarentum are more numerous and various, and perhaps more beautiful than those of any other Magna Græcian, or even Sicilian town; scarcely excepting even Syracuse. There are fifteen different types of gold coin, and in the collection of the Chevalier Carelli alone, more than 800 varieties of silver.* The preservation of this mass of ancient coins, all perfect and uninjured, even by wear, is truly extraordinary, and proves the immense wealth in coin, that must have been possessed by some of the great commercial cities of antiquity. Most of the gold of Tarentum, of the fine period, might rival the engraved gems of the greatest sculptors of the age of Pericles, and be placed beside the works of Pyrgolete or Dioscorides.† Tarentum was a Lacedæmonian colony, and considering the reported contempt of the parent state for the fine arts, the coins of Tarentum, and those of its other splendid colony of Cyrene, in Africa, offer an archæological difficulty not easy of explanation.

Some of the most beautiful silver coins of Tarentum have the figure of Taras, after whom the city was named, sitting on a dolphin, or rather porpoise, which was the dolphin of the ancients; another specimen, has a horseman very finely designed (see Nos. 3 and 4, Plate 3), and on the reverse, a winged hippocamp, or sea-horse, emblem of Neptune, the father of Taras. There are no early coins of Tarentum of the incused period. The gold of Tarentum is also very beautiful; the coin, with head of Jupiter on the obverse, and an eagle on the reverse, is a fair sample (Plate 3, Nos. 5 and 6).

Neapolis (Naples) has a more perfect suite of Italian Greek coins than any other place, never having been subdued by the barbarian Samnites, by whom many other Greek cities were subdued, and entering early into alliance with, or rather semi-subjection, to the Romans, the series of its coins of a Greek character continue up to the time of Augustus, and chronologically arranged, would form alone a most interesting small cabinet. A coin of Neapolis, with its usual type, the bull with human face (a bronze piece), has "ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ," evidently struck in honour of some alliance with the Romans.

About the year 386 to 396 B.C., a barbarous people appeared in Southern Italy, after whom a district took its name—Lucania. They were the cause of the destruction of many of the small Grecian states. But a section of these barbarians, the Bruttii, became, by connection with the Greeks, highly civilized, adopting the Greek coinage, and coining beautiful money. Their coins are found from the period named till about that of the second punic war, when probably they lost all independent power, and ceased to coin money; for at that period Roman influence became predominant over the greater part of Italy. After the Roman military colonies were established in nearly all the cities of Magna Græcia, few retained any traces of their ancient civilization, except Naples, Rhegium, and Tarentum.

The chronology of the early coins of Magna Græcia may be in some degree ascertained, by a careful examination of the manner of writing the inscriptions, and though in the space of this small volume that branch of the subject cannot be

* A great number of these are beautifully engraved, in his work "On the Coins of Ancient Italy," the great defect of which is, that it is unaccompanied by descriptive text, being solely composed of engravings and a title-page.

† See Millingen's "Numismatique de l'ancienne Italie."

entered upon, I may yet just suggest a few points for observation, which the student may extend, should he feel so disposed. On the most ancient coins the s will be found written M, instead of the more recent Σ. In some instances the r will be found of the Roman form, R instead of P, and the Λ instead of ϒ; and the inscriptions of the earliest coins read from right to left, after the oriental manner; so that on early coins of Sybaris, the two first letters of the name of the town (SY) stand thus, MV, instead of Σϒ. Pliny states that the Greek alphabet was anciently, the same as the Roman, and this would tend to confirm his statement, which is corroborated by other numismatic evidence. To these examples, I might have added the forward and backward inscriptions on coins of Neapolis (Naples) and on similar coins of the period.

As I shall not in my chapter on the Roman coinage speak of a silver or gold coinage in central Italy, anterior to the Romans, I may here mention that some towns of that portion of the peninsula, not of Greek origin, had an early silver coinage, the details of which were imitated from those of Greece, or the Magna Græcian colonies; and though the silver money of these cities is of later date than that of the cities of Magna Græcia, it is yet much earlier than the Roman coinage of silver. Among these, the coins of Populonia, possibly a Tyrian colony, are peculiar; they are quite flat on one side, and without mark or type, whilst in front they have a lion, of similar character to that found on Ionian coins. For the knowledge and classification of this money, we are indebted principally to the researches of Mr. Millingen.

Most of the coins of Pyrrhus, the knight-errant of classic heroes, Mr. Millingen considers were either coined in Sicily or Magna Græcia; the poor and semi-barbarous people of Epirus not being equal to such superior productions. His long residence in Italy as chief of the small states, chiefly Greek, combined against the Romans, and his still longer residence among the Greeks of Sicily, with the view of assisting them to drive out the Carthaginians, will account for this.

A fine silver coin, of the strong Magna Græcian town of Locri Epizephyrii, where Pyrrhus resided for some time, represents the head of the deified Achilles, the reputed ancestor of Pyrrhus, on one side, and the nereid Thetis, the mother of Achilles, on a sea-horse, on the reverse. Under the pretence of the head of Achilles, we have possibly the features of Pyrrhus. Thetis carries the arms forged by Vulcan for Achilles, in allusion to the succour brought by Pyrrhus to the Italian Greeks against the barbarians, as they termed the rising Romans.

COINS OF SICILY, CARTHAGE, MARSEILLES, SPAIN, ETC.

Sicily was anciently called by the Romans Trinacria, from its triangular shape, formed by the three promontories—Pelorus (the modern Il Foro), Selybæum (now Capo di Boco), and Pachynus, (now Capo Passaro). It is these promontories, symbolized by three legs, joined by a head, that forms the national emblem, found on so many Sicilian coins* (see No. 10, Plate 3). A similar symbol occurs on the coins of Selge, a town of Psidia, to which place they are attributed by

* This same symbol is used upon the coins of the Isle of Man, but its origin there has never been satisfactorily explained.

Pellerin, on account of the inscription, ΣΕΛΓΕΩΝ. Goltzius and Begèr had thought they belonged to Sicily, on account of the Triquetra, and took the name for that of Segeste, in Sicily. The Abbé Bellay considered that this symbol represented the three provinces of Pisidia, Pamphylia, and Trachiotide, and in fact it differs somewhat in design from the Sicilian emblem, for there are cords apparently tying the legs together, which would seem to favour the idea that such a symbol was occasionally used to denote a confederation, or union of three. But there are coins also of other places than Selge, with this symbol, which do not admit of such easy interpretation. The sculptured bulls of Khorsabad have five legs, but this is probably not symbolical, the extra leg being perhaps introduced by the artist to show a fourth in all positions. Sicily was also called, in the heroic ages, the Island of the Sun, and by some the Isle of Cyclops, from the Pelasgian inhabitants, whose Cyclopean architecture yet rears its colossal records of that early people in many parts of the island.

The Pelasgian settlers of Sicily appear to have been first disturbed by irruptions of Iberians, from the coast of Spain, and then by the Carthaginians, while the two principal tribes of the island, the Secalians and Sicilians, were frequently at war with each other.

About 758 B. C., Archias, of Corinth, founded Syracuse, and this event was quickly followed by the descent of several other Hellenic colonies, and nearly the whole of the south and eastern coast of Sicily was soon occupied by them. Wherever they settled they established the Greek language in place of all the former dialects; and either brought the art of coining with them, or it soon followed them in the train of fresh colonists from European or Asiatic Greece.

The continual turmoil of the affairs of this island does not appear to have acted prejudicially to art; the Carthaginians pillaging Agrigentum at one moment, at another, in permanent occupation of a large portion of the island for a long period; the invasions from Greece, and the wars with Magna Græcia, all could not stop the exquisite development of artistic feeling which took place in this island. Some of the finest pieces were struck, however, there is little doubt, during the greater degree of settled tranquility that prevailed in great part of the country, under the tyrants Dionysius I. and II., Agathocles, and Hiero II.

Sicilian coins are found of very early, though not the earliest character known, the earliest of them appear to be of the second stage of the art, when the punch mark at the back began to be somewhat symmetrical, or having sometimes a letter or a small head engraved within it,* such are some of the earliest coins of Syracuse, which have a small head of Proserpine in the centre of four square punch marks which, each slanting in more deeply at one side than the other, producing the effect seen in the disposition of the four sails of a windmill (see Plate 2, Nos. 7 and 8). Among the early Sicilian coins those of Zancle, the modern Messina, may be mentioned as curious. But the coinage of Sicily advanced rapidly to perfection, and the noble coins of Syracuse, the finest of which may perhaps date about 400 before Christ, are perhaps the most exquisite specimens of coin engraving in existence. Those of Panormus, the modern Palermo, though a Carthaginian colony,

* Paruta has engraved an ancient Syracusan coin of this character, a tetradrachm. But all Paruta's drawings like those of the Pembroke collection are drawn to one uniform size, so that it is, without referring to the descriptions, impossible to judge of the real size of the coin.

are sometimes very beautiful, and the coins of every colony of the island may be said to rival, and often equal, the finest productions of the mother country, Greece, and in some instances to surpass them. It is even probable that the architecture of Sicily may have done the same; in dimensions it certainly did, for the remains of the temples at Selinunte surpass in gigantic proportions any similar remains in Greece; in fact they exceed anything of the kind in existence, except the giant works of Egypt. The architectural remains at Agrigentum are nearly as extraordinary as those of Selinunte, and Diodorus Siculus enlarges especially upon the grandeur of this city, its temples and palaces; dwelling with particular emphasis on a grand artificial lake in the suburbs, which was covered with swans.

Each of the independent towns of Sicily issued coins of its own, and those issued by the despots or kings who at certain periods obtained sway over them, continued to bear distinct types in each separate district or city.

Most of the towns founded by the Greeks had originally their separate governments, mostly framed upon those of the Hellenic states of Greece, from which the original colonies came. These free cities eventually fell under the sway of energetic citizens, or sometimes strangers.

The following is a list, chronologically arranged, of some of the Sicilian princes who successively held power in the island, and of a few of such coins as are most remarkable belonging to each period:—

Gelo I., tyrant of Gela, was called to the supreme power at Syracuse by the Syracusans themselves, 491 B. C., but no coins exist with his name, those which were formerly supposed to be his are those of Gelo, son of Hiero II., above 200 years later, and their style alone should have been sufficient to prove they could not belong to that early period; the coins cotemporary with Gelo I. are such as Nos. 7 and 8, Plate 2, which still retain the punch marks at the back instead of a complete reverse. Coins were afterwards struck, bearing the name of Gelo, either for Gelo, son of Hiero II., who never came to the throne, or in memory of Gelo I., whose firm and spirited government was always remembered gratefully by the Syracusans, for he raised Syracuse to the rank of first city of the island; and afterwards, when the tyranny of Dionysius and his son, caused the indignant Syracusans to throw down the statues of all their princes, those of Gelo I. were respected, and allowed to remain.

Hiero I. succeeded his brother Gelo I. in 478 B. C., and at his court Pindar, Bacchylides, Simonides, and other eminent men were encouraged, in whose conversation he took great pleasure; he died 467 B. C. The presence of the celebrated Greeks above mentioned would be sufficient to prove the high civilization of the Sicilians, even if the advanced state of their coinage did not sufficiently testify it. Thrasybulus, his brother, succeeded him, whose tyranny was only born for a single year, when he abdicated.

From this period to about 405 B. C., Syracuse was governed by a sort of republic, interrupted by civil wars and the occasional tyranny of ambitious citizens. During the latter portion of this period the coins became perfect on both sides, but were of the singular archaic character, similar to Nos. 7 and 8, Plate 2, no portraits or even names of princes yet appearing. The small head in the punch mark is that of Proserpine.

This coin shows the treatment of the biga in the *archaic* feeling, which was

afterwards so grandly and variously treated on the finest Syracusan coins of the highest period of art; it still exhibits the punch marks as a reverse. But Nos. 9 and 10 in the same plate show the same (though improved) archaic treatment of the biga, which there forms a perfect reverse, while the obverse is occupied by a fine archaic head of Proserpine. This fine and rare medallion, of which two specimens only are known, is one of the most exquisite and interesting specimens of archaic art. The rapid step from the stiff, though quaintly elegant, archaism of this coin to the florid grandeur of the No. 7, in Plate 3, appears extraordinary, and this entirely different treatment of the same types is a most curious and instructive study. The latter coin belongs to the finest period of Sicilian art, and was probably struck during the reign of Dionysius.

Dionysius, the celebrated tyrant of Syracuse, assumed the supreme power in that part of Sicily about 405 B. C., and reigned over nearly the whole island, except such portions as the Carthaginians, notwithstanding continual reverses, contrived to retain possession of, till his death in 377 B. C. He was a bel esprit as well as a tyrant, and the success of a tragedy he had written, which received the prize of poetry at Athens—doubtless a piece of servile flattery of the Athenians—gave him such pleasure, that he feasted for several days, and his digestion not being equal to his enthusiasm, he fell a victim to his rejoicing.

Dionysius II., his son, a greater tyrant, and without the talents, courage, or other redeeming qualities of his father, retained the throne of Syracuse, which at that period was nearly that of all Sicily, till 358 B.C., when he was driven out by Dion, his former preceptor, by whose advice he had invited the great philosopher Plato to his court.

It was doubtless during the period of these two reigns that some of the finest coins of Sicily were executed, such for instance as the great medallion or tetradrachm, with the noble head of Proserpine,* and the fine reverse of the quadriga, on Plate 3, Nos. 7 and 8, and the finest coins of Catana, Terena, and Agrigentum. This was close upon the age of Pericles and Phidias, and some of the coins of Sicily of this period were worthy of the hand of the great Athenian sculptor himself, and of the critical taste of his princely friend and patron. I must not omit here to mention a very fine and remarkable coin of Syracuse, executed about this period, which has for obverse, a fine three-quarter head, generally described as that of Minerva, but which I take to be a deified impersonation of the city, as the goddess Roma was of Rome, and from this coin the Roman impersonation was possibly copied, as the *winged* helmet would appear to suggest, which peculiarity alone distinguishes *Pallas* from *Roma*, or Roman coins. The fine head of Minerva or Syracuse on this piece is by the engraver Euclid. I must also notice one of the most exquisite productions of the Syracusan series of the finest period, a most beautiful didrachm, with the head of Proserpine on the obverse, executed in moderate relief, with wonderful delicacy and finish; the hair is kept close to the head across the front by a narrow fillet, to which it is smoothly brought down from the crown, and gathered up from the temples, while at the back it is confined within an ornament which appears more

* It is during the fabulous period of the history of Sicily that the fable of Proserpine, the daughter of Ceres, or as some say, Princess of Sicily, is laid, which legend is the cause of the introduction of one of the finest series of beautiful heads ever engraved on the coins of any nation.

solid than the usual net-work; the whole head is of most graceful and fascinating execution. Four dolphins, the especial symbol of Syracuse, as of many other seaport cities of Greek origin, occupy the field, with the inscription (ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ). But the reverse is still more beautiful: the car with four horses, the well-known quadriga of this series, is here treated with a care of composition beyond all praise; the variety of position of each of the four horses being managed with the most consummate artistic skill, while the position and treatment of the drivers are truly Phidian in character; a victory flying above the horses holds a tablet, on which the engraver of this *gem* has enscribed his name,* EVAINETO (see Plate 3, No. 9).

To sum up my very brief remarks on the Sicilian coinage of this period, I may say, that perhaps the finest piece is the tetradrachm of *Kimon*,† with the full face of Arethusa, and on the reverse, a figure of the hero Leucaspis. The tetradrachms, or four drachm pieces, had generally the four horse chariot or quadriga; the didrachm or two drachma pieces, a two horse car or biga; and the single drachma, a simple man on horseback, or one horse; but this only applies to the finest period, when the greatest artists were employed, who brought order as well as beauty to the task. The gold types, in all places, are generally different from the silver. The fine pieces, with Hercules strangling the lion, were long since suspected to be of the Syracusan school of engraving, which has been verified by the recent discovery of the initials KI for Cimon, and EYAINE for Evaedne, both engravers of the coinage of that city.

Timoleon, the Corinthian, finally defeated the efforts of Dionysius to return, and re-established the liberty of the Sicilians; and during the period in which the affairs of the island were governed by Timoleon, we find Corinthian symbols on the coins of various parts of the island, but especially Syracuse, on some of which the Corinthian symbol of the Pegasus is most beautifully executed, and the head of the *Minerva* on the obverse certainly surpasses its Corinthian original. The student will find it interesting to compare this Sicilian coin with the cotemporary drachma of Corinth (see Plate 5).

Agathocles, after a stormy period of liberty, and war with the Carthaginians, succeeded in securing the supreme power at Syracuse; he reigned from 317 to 289 B.C. His are the first Sicilian coins with a prince's name; they have generally the head of Pallas, with a helmet ornamented with Pegasus, the reverse, a winged thunderbolt, with inscription, "Of King Agathocles" (ΑΓΑΘΟΚΓΕΣ ΒΑΣΙΓΕΩΣ). There are many varieties, and of different places, and the coins are very beautiful; one variety has a fine head, perhaps that of the king as Hercules, but in which the head-dress of the lion's skin is replaced by that of an elephant; another remarkably beautiful coin of Agathocles has a fine head of Apollo on the obverse, and on the reverse, a figure of Victory erecting a trophy; this reverse is most beautifully executed, and appears to have served as the model for the early Roman Denarius, afterwards executed with the same device.

Hicetas held the supreme power over a portion of the island between Agathocles and Hiero II., and there are very fine coins of the period inscribed with his name. Pyrrhus, about 277 B.C., being invited to Sicily to command the Sicilian armies,

* See chapter on Greek and Sicilian art.

† The engraver of the die whose name appears upon the coin.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 3.

COINS OF THE FINEST PERIOD OF MAGNA GRÆCIA AND SICILY.

Nos. 1 and 2.—The obverse and reverse of a tetradrachm, or four-drachm piece, of Thurium; they show an advance from the severe and hard style of Nos. 5 and 6, Plate 7, to the most highly-wrought excellence; of which the present coin is a fine example. Though it does not possess the *neatness* of our most perfect modern coins, it is wonderfully superior in grandeur to anything that modern monetary art has produced. The fish beneath the bull is a *Tunny*, a large fish of the mackarel kind, for the fishery of which this part of the Italian coast is still celebrated. The inscription is the same as that on No. 6, Plate 2. There is a specimen in the British Museum on which the type of the bull is even finer than in the present example, but the head of the obverse is very inferior. The probable time of execution may be from 360 to 400 B. C. (see pages 43 and 44).

Nos. 3 and 4.—Are didrachms (two drachm pieces) of Tarentum, of the finest period, and are fair samples of the beautiful types found on the silver coinage of that city, of which above 800 varieties are known. No. 4 has for type Taras, the son of Neptune, the reputed founder of the city, after whom it was named, riding on a porpoise (the *dolphin* of the ancients). He holds an amphora, one of the minor symbols of Tarentum. The inscription is TA, the initial letters of the name of the city, and the name at full length is TAPAΣ (TARAS). These coins belong to a period between 300 and 400 B. C. (see pages 44 and 45.) The letters under horseman (No. 3), are probably the initials of a magistrate's name.

Nos. 5 and 6.—Are specimens of the gold *stater* of Tarentum (see page 103). No. 5 is the reverse, the type of which is a finely-executed eagle, full of expression and grandeur, with two amphoræ as minor types, and the inscription, very small, of the name of the city. No. 6 is the obverse; it has the head of Jupiter, the noble style of which recalls to mind the finest examples of Grecian sculpture. This gold coin, judging from the style of the eagle, is perhaps of somewhat later date than the silver, and may have been struck about 280 to 300 B. C.

Nos. 7 and 8.—Are the obverse and reverse of a Syracusan medallion, or decadrachm, of the finest period. The head of Proserpine is, perhaps, the most highly-wrought head ever executed upon a piece of money. It is by the celebrated Sicilian engraver, Kimon, who has placed his name on the dolphin, immediately beneath the head. The inscription is ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, of the Syracusans, or (*money* of the Syracusans). The reverse exhibits a quadriga, or four-horse chariot, treated in a manner almost worthy of Phidias *himself*; above which is a Victory, holding a laurel crown towards the driver of the car. *Beneath this group* several pieces of armour are placed, under which the word ΑΘΛΑ (ATHLA), *prizes*, may be traced; such being the prizes contended for at the great equestrian games (see pages 49 and 120).

No. 9.—A reverse of a tetradrachm of Syracuse, executed by the engraver, Evænetus, whose name ΕΥΑΙΝΕΤΟ appears on the small tablet held by a Victory, above the chariot. It is of most exquisite treatment and finish. These fine medallions, of which there are several varieties, were executed between 403 and 360 B. C. (see pages 50 and 121).

No. 10.—The obverse of a Carthaginian tetradrachm, or piece of four drachms, struck in the Carthaginian portion of Sicily. The inscription, in Punic characters, has not been explained. The horse's head and the palm-tree are well-known Carthaginian types. This coin is of later style than the preceding, and was probably executed about 300 B. C. (see pages 54 and 55).

No. 11.—A gold stater of Syracuse, evidently copied from the gold staters of Philip of Macedon (see pages 58 and 59). The obverse is a beautifully executed head of Apollo, and the reverse the *biga*, or two-horse chariot, with the inscription ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ (SYRAKOSION), "Of the Syracusans," and the national Sicilian emblem, the *triquetra*, or three united legs, supposed to symbolize the three principal promontories of the island, which is of triangular form. This coin was probably struck a little before, or in the beginning of the reign of Hiero II., before he began to place his portrait on the coinage, probably about 270 B. C. (see pages 47, 51, and 102).

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struck many fine coins in the island as well as in Magna Græcia, which have been alluded to at page 46 of this chapter.

About 270 B.C., Hiero II. established his rule over nearly the whole island. Hiero II. confirmed his power by declaring himself the friend of the rapidly rising Romans. He reigned during the first, and part of the second Punic war, and the coins of the last years of his reign were struck while Hannibal was ravaging the southern states of Italy, and during his fatal occupation of the luxurious Capua. The pastoral poet Theocritus lived in this reign, who addressed his sixteenth Idyll to this prince. The series of coins of Hiero and his family, though the style of execution had lost something of the grandeur of the Dionysian period, are yet among the most interesting and beautiful of the whole Sicilian series. For the first time in the Sicilian coinage, a portrait head appears in this reign, in the style of the portraits on the coins of the Ptolemies, the reverse being a magnificent quadriga.

These coins are tetradrachms, or four drachm pieces. There is also a copper coin of nearly the same size, with a biga on the reverse, of very florid style, but inferior to the silver. Gold began to be coined in considerable quantities about this time in Sicily, in nearly exact imitation of the staters of Philip II. of Macedon, but inscribed with the name of Syracuse as ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ (of the Syracusans), accompanied by the national symbol of the three legs (see Plate 3, No. 10).

The head of Apollo on these Syracusan staters, was eventually replaced by that of the reigning prince.

During his long reign, from 270 to 216 B. C., Hiero struck gold coins in honour of his son Gelo, who died before him, and these coins it is that were formerly considered to belong to Gelo I., and were therefore considered the earliest gold coins, with a portrait and prince's name. The coins of his queen Philistis, veiled like those that Ptolemy Soter struck in honour of Berenice, are excessively beautiful, and the execution of the quadriga on some of them is truly exquisite. Hiero appears also to have reissued coins of both the Corinthian types, the Minerva and Pegasus.

Hieronymus, his grandson, reigned scarcely a year, when by his death Sicily became virtually, if not nominally, a Roman province. Yet he has left some fine coins bearing his portrait and superscription. The reverse of his tetradrachms bears a thunderbolt for type, and the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΟΝΙΜΟΥ (of the king Hieronymus.)

The coins of Hieronymus, like those of Hiero II., are in the style of the Greek coinage of Syria and Egypt under the Seleucidæ and the Lagidæ; the portrait is well executed, and the reverse has a magnificent galloping quadriga. A bronze coin of about the same size is nearly as fine, with a biga on the reverse, the smaller bronze have a horseman on the reverse evidently copied from the coins of Philip of Macedon, as closely as were the gold staters.

After the death of Hieronymus, who had forfeited the friendship of the Romans by his treachery, two magistrates yet defended Syracuse against the irresistible power now determined on the subjection of Sicily, and the engines invented by the celebrated philosopher Archimedes frustrated all the efforts of the Romans to gain possession of the place by force. It, however, fell by surprise, while the inhabitants were celebrating the festival of Diana, and the unfortunate Archimedes was among the

number of the slain, to the great grief of Marcellus, the Roman consul, who directed the siege operations.

In this necessarily short notice of the coins of Sicily, those of Syracuse, as the most complete and most numerous series, and taken as a whole the most beautiful, have occupied nearly the whole of our attention. But the exquisite coins of a number of other Sicilian cities exist, which space compels me to pass over without notice. I may mention, however, those of Agrigentum with the fine type of the eagles (see Plate 4, No. 12). Those of Catana, with the splendidly executed three-quarter face of Arethusa, and the very beautiful coins of Terena, one of which with Venus, or a nymph, holding a dove in her hand on the reverse, is of very remarkable execution. The coins of the northern portion of this island, especially those of Panormus (the modern Palermo), belong to the Carthaginian series and will be therefore noticed in a separate place.

M. Dumersan has published a memoir, in the "Revue Numismatique," attempting to establish a chronology of Syracusan coins, by means of the style of the writing of the inscriptions; in the earliest periods, he says, ϙ is found for K, as on the coins of Crotona, another colony of Corinth. The helmet of Gelo I., consecrated in the temple of Olympia, is now preserved in the British Museum, and its inscription coincides with those coins having the K so formed, which are therefore assigned to his period. The second series of his coins, says Mr. Dumersan, have the K in its usual form, but Β for Ρ still continues. About Hiero I., we find the word Syracuse in the genitive case, written indifferently with an Ο or an Ω. There are many other interesting facts establishing the successive date of these coins.

In the early Sicilian coins, continues M. Dumersan, the field or flat portion of the coin is very even and flat; at a later period, that of the ϙ instead of K, they became slightly sunk or concave on the principal side. From the very beginning, the relief is bold on this fine series of coins, but it becomes somewhat less so about the time of Agathocles, and then rises again. After the period of Agathocles and Pyrrhus, the modelling begins to loose its roundness, and *finish* supplies the place of *grandeur*. The horses of the cars on the reverse are on the very early coins, only walking and very stiff; they afterwards became gradually finer, even during the archaic period, and under Dionysius I. we find them at full gallop and designed with extraordinary spirit; and, says M. Dumersan, "Sur les Medailles, d'Eutheme, d'Euclide, d'Evanæte, et de Cimon" (celebrated engravers of the Syracusan coinage), they are worthy of Phidias. Another era is marked by the first appearance of the ear-rings to the head of Proserpine, and by the introduction, beneath the quadriga, of pieces of rich armour*—helmet, leg-pieces, cuirass, &c., which have sometimes the word ΑΘΛΑ (prizes) beneath, clearly showing that the quadriga or chariot of four, and the biga or chariot of two horses, refer to victories in the Olympic games.

The Syracusan coins of Agathocles have Apollo and the Diana Soteira, especially on the pieces which were of electrum, or pale gold mixed with silver, which were introduced for a short time. Coins of Hicetas have an imitation of the medallion of Evanæte on one side, and an imitation of the Philip on the other. The

* There are several pieces of armour preserved in the British Museum wrought with extraordinary richness and beauty, but too slight for the purposes of war, which were doubtless prizes of this description.

inscriptions on the coins of Pyrrhus, struck in Sicily, resemble those of Hicetas. The coins of Hiero II., without title of king, appear to be of his own reign, says Dumersan; while he considers those with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (of the king), to have been struck by his successor Hieronymus, as well as those of his wife Philistis.* After this last weak and tyrannical prince, who was assassinated after a reign of thirteen months, the island fell under the supremacy of the Romans; but some fine pieces were still struck in the old national style for some time, during an interval which appears to have elapsed before the complete subjugation of the new province.

The progress of art may be traced, says the same author, even in the symbolic dolphins represented on these Syracusan coins. They first appear immediately after the period of the hollow punched back, and are at first thin and stiff; they become gradually rounder and more graceful, till about the time of Hiero I., the exquisite grace with which their outline and general character is invested, is as remarkable as in the noble head of Proserpine itself—on one of these dolphins on the coin No. 8, Plate 3, the name of the engraver KIMON (Cimon) appears.

* M. Panofka, in a pamphlet, has proved Philistis to be the wife of Hiero II., and states that numismatists need now only desiderate a coin of Nereis, the wife of Gelo II., to possess portraits of the whole of the family. When Hiero II., of Syracuse, assumed the royal bandelet on his busts, it had appeared forty years before on those of the princes of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt.

CHAPTER VI.

COINS OF CARTHAGE, SPAIN, GAUL, ETC.

THE Phœnicians, who may, perhaps, be considered the earliest known maritime power, and the first to perceive the importance of commercial intercourse with distant nations, yet do not appear to have known the use of coins until they learned from the Greeks the secret of that great facilitator of commercial operations, coined money. No Phœnician coins of the very early periods have reached us; those of Tyre and Sidon, and others, with Phœnician inscriptions, such as those of Marathus, are coins of comparatively late date.* But Phœnician settlements in different parts of the Mediterranean appear to have adopted the use of coins in imitation of the Greek colonies, with which they came in contact, and such would seem to have been the case with Carthage, whose coins are entirely of Greek character.

It is not my intention in this chapter to enter into a detailed, or even general account, of Carthaginian and other classes of coins, bearing inscriptions in the Phœnician character, yet in a work treating of ancient coins in general, I cannot pass them over altogether without alluding briefly to their general character. It is the general opinion that the Carthaginians coined no money in Africa, and that the coins with Carthaginian emblems, in circulation in the African portion of the Carthaginian dominions, were coined in their possessions in Sicily. The emblem of the palm-tree and the horse's head (and sometimes an entire figure of a horse), which distinguish Carthaginian money, are said to have been adopted from the ancient legend, alluding to the foundation of Carthage by Dido, which states, that on digging the foundation of the city, a branch of palm and the head of a horse were discovered, and both were considered good omens. It is possible that they were in consequence made sacred to certain tutelary deities, and being thus rendered sacred, were used as the signet or seal of state, to guarantee the value and weight of the national coin.† Some of the coins found in Sicily bearing these Carthaginian emblems have their inscriptions in Greek characters, in which case one side of the coin bears a Sicilian type. In some cases, even when one side of the coin bears a Sicilian type, the inscriptions are in Punic characters. Those without any Sicilian type at all, and with inscriptions in Punic characters, such as those with the palm tree ‡ on one side, and the horse's head on the other, have been supposed by some to be either coined in Africa, or coined for African circulation (see Plate 3, No. 11). But with

* See Barthelemy's attempt to decipher the inscriptions in the "Journal des Savants," for 1760. There is a fine coin of Juba, King of Numidia, with Phœnician characters; it is preserved in the British Museum. Some Persian coins, of comparatively late date, have Phœnician inscriptions.

† See chapter on Grecian types, and that on the first gold coinage, page 25.

‡ The palm tree was also the emblem used on the coins of Palmyra; its Hebrew name, Thadmor, signifying a palm tree. An imperial coin of Palmyra, with this type, is figured by Pellerin.

the very slight data which the present state of knowledge on this point affords,* it would be rash to frame a theory, especially as the Punicean alphabet has not yet been satisfactorily deciphered, and the inscriptions, consequently, not made out with any degree of certainty.

The workmanship of these Carthaginian coins, even such as have evidently been struck in Sicily, is not equal to that of the Græco-Sicilian coins, which would seem to favour the theory of a distinct Carthaginian coinage. Yet some of them are in very bold relief, and by no means at an immeasurable distance from true Sicilian art, as may be seen by the example, No. 11, Plate 3. Some of the larger coins are yet finer, and some, with the head of Ceres, really very grand in character, especially the large decadrachm, of which the woodcut is a representation, with a Pegasus on the reverse, perhaps in allusion to some temporary connection with the Corinthians, or perhaps only a variation of the national emblem of the horse. This fine coin has a short Punic inscription, which has been read as Karkath (for

Carthage), which, if correct, would lead to the supposition that it had been coined at, or for circulation in, the city of Carthage. One somewhat remarkable Carthaginian coin of Sicily has on one side the national emblems of the horse and palm tree, and on the other the head of Hercules, the head being covered with a lion's skin, as it appears on the coins of Alexander the Great.

Panormus (the present Palermo) may be considered the centre of Carthaginian Sicily, and to have been essentially a Phœnician or Carthaginian colony—hence most of the Carthaginian coins of Sicily appear to have been struck at that place.

A large portion of the coasts and even the interior of Spain became subject to Carthage; and it was from the rich mines of this country that the Phœnicians first, and after them, their colonists the Carthaginians, drew the vast supply of silver through the means of which they equipped their great fleets. These mines were afterwards successfully wrought by the energetic Romans.†

* Gessenius has on the subject "Monumenta Phœnicia," and also "Paleographische Studien."

† In the beginning of the seventeenth century those near Guadalcanal were worked by the Government of Modern Spain, but official tyranny caused the real speculators to abandon them, notwithstanding the great return they had begun to yield. After another desertion of near two centuries, an English company has just commenced new operations on these celebrated mines, which promise to be of a most profitable nature.

The coins with Punic characters, of Gades, the modern Cadiz, and those of many other towns, are monuments of the Carthaginian dominion in Spain.

The coins of portions of Africa, with the exception of the Lacedæmonian colony of Cyrene, belong to a somewhat later epoch than those of Carthage, and will be more conveniently spoken of when treating of the coins of Egypt under its race of Greek princes, the Ptolemies.

SPANISH AND GAULISH COINS.

The Greeks had colonies on the coast of Spain, and the coins of these places bear of course inscriptions in the Greek character. But I shall content myself with briefly stating that they are inferior in art to those of most other Greek colonies.

The inscriptions of the coins of Spain which may be termed native, or Celtiberian, have not been as yet made out, for want of a knowledge of that ancient language, which, like that of Etruria, has been lost; and great obscurity, in consequence, hangs over the coinage of both these nations. There appears to be several varieties of the Celtiberian and allied languages, and the works of Florez and Velasquez are the best authorities on the subject, and indeed on Spanish coins in general. The student may also consult the article on the Celtiberian alphabet by M. Le Normand. But the coins of Spain present but little interest with regard to art, while their course of development and decadence was similar to that of the coins of Greece and Rome; first exhibiting national (which were at the same time *religious*) symbols; and at a later epoch, about two centuries and a half before the christian era, for a short period, the heads of native princes appear; which of course are not found long after the subjugation of the country to the Romans, for the coinage of Rome soon became the only currency of the whole country.

Of the coins of Gaul, the only beautiful specimens are those of Massilia (the modern Marseilles), founded by a colony of the Phocæan Greeks, but they are neither so fine nor so abundant as those of Sicily and Magna Græcia, whilst their progress and characteristics are similar. I shall therefore speak of other Gaulish coins, or such as may be considered native. It appears that the art of coinage, finding its way northward, through Macedonia and Thrace, must have, at a very early period, found its way into Transalpine Gaul, and even Switzerland; a few rude coins being known which appear to be barbarous copies of the early Grecian coinage, at the time when an impression was only produced on one side, the other being occupied by the mark of the rude punch, by the blow of which the impression had been produced on the obverse. Some gold British coins belonging to the same early mode of fabric, inasmuch they have only one perfect side, have recently been discovered. The early coins of Gaul have lately occupied much of the attention of French archæologists, and considerable light is likely to be thrown by their aid, upon the state of the country previous to the appearance of the Romans. From recent researches it would seem that the ancient Gaulish coins do not *all* present mere copies of Grecian or rather Macedonian types, as had been previously thought, but that coins of a strictly national character also existed, of many varieties, and that these are found as far north as Holland.*

These discoveries have shown that the portraits of native princes occur on Gaulish

* See Numis. Journal, V. 152.

coins previous to the Roman period; and what is perhaps still more interesting, on one unique coin the head of the Druid Abaris is found. Abaris, in Gaul, was supposed to be a priest of the Hyperborian Apollo, gifted with the power of performing miracles by means of an *arrow*, the gift of Apollo, which conferred also the power of prophecy. The arrow, and a symbolical winged figure appear on the reverse of the coin, as shown in the woodcut. Some, of an earlier date, present

the curious mode of fabric peculiar to some of the coins of Magna Græcia; that is to say, the incused back, or the same subject struck in hollow at the back, that appears in relief on the front. One such is described in the "Revue Numismatique," for 1842—3, page 165, which must belong to a period at least four, if not five, centuries previous to the Christian era. The Gauls, as early as the year 278 B. C., taking advantage of the dissentions among the descendants of the captain-sovereigns who had parcelled out the great empire of Alexander, twice invaded and pillaged Macedonia; the last time they were commanded by Brennus, who defeated and slew the Macedonian chief Sosthenes, and advanced to the foot of Parnassus, with a view to carry off the treasures of the temple of Delphos. But the Greeks, at the sight of this peril, assembled their forces with something like the enthusiasm of their ancient patriotism, and attacked the Gauls with such fury that they were utterly routed and the greater portion of them destroyed. It was supposed that the god *Pan* had protected the Greeks in this battle, and spread among their enemies (greatly superior in number), that species of contagious alarm which has since been termed a *panic*. They were more fortunate in neighbouring provinces, where they succeeded in establishing the kingdom of Galatia, about the same time; and there is a tolerably good series of coins of that country for a considerable period, imitated in style from those of the surrounding states recently founded by the great generals of Alexander the Great, after his death. They also established themselves in Thracia, about 200 B. C., and there are coins of a Gaulish king of that country, cotemporary with Antigonus Gonates, King of Syria.

A Gaulish invasion of Italy, resulting in the permanent occupation of Ravenna and a large portion of Etruria, was the origin of a Gaulish coinage of copper, in imitation of the great Roman coinage of the early *As* period.*

At a later period of the Roman empire, the Gallic chiefs, who had become masters of part of Macedonia, struck money bearing the heads of the Roman emperors, in token of a still acknowledged *suzerainté* of the Roman power.

Space does not allow of a farther digression on the subject of Gaulish coins, but the reader will at once perceive that it is a subject of very considerable interest, and offering to reward research with discoveries of a novel character.

* See chapter on the earliest coinage of Rome, page 136.

CHAPTER VII.

OF GREEK MONETARY ART OF THE FINEST PERIOD, AS EXHIBITED IN THE MACEDONIAN SERIES OF COINS, FROM PHILIP II. TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE MONARCHY.

I FOUND it more convenient to illustrate the progress of the Greek coinage from its imperfect beginnings to its greatest degree of completeness, from a series of Macedonian coins which each, after Alexander I., offered a positive date; than from a series selected from different independent cities or republican states, which afford but little guide as to precise epochs. By doing so, however, the attainment of the highest degree of perfection in the art is made to occur at a somewhat later period than it otherwise would. Phidias, the great Athenian sculptor, flourished in the eighty-fifth Olympiad, about 440 B. C., and about forty years later, 400 B. C., the greatest refinement ever attained in the art was already applied to the coins of many Greek states, and those of their colonies; while the Macedonian series, at the accession of Philip II., had scarcely attained that point of excellence. The greatest period of the development of art in the Greek coinage in general may be stated, with reference to the Macedonian dynasty, to be from about fifty years before the accession of Philip, (the Archaism had disappeared at an earlier period), to about fifty or sixty years after the death of his son Alexander. But the decadence was not serious till towards the time of the Roman invasion, under Paulus Æmilius, 199 B.C.

Philip II., the father of Alexander the Great, ascended the throne of Macedon in 359, and reigned till 336 B. C. It was during his reign that the gold mines of Thessaly were discovered, and that the great gold coinage was issued by him, the pieces of which were called Philips. These coins were put forth in such abundance that, as I have before remarked, they circulated throughout all Greece, and even continued to do so till a recent period in modern history, still bearing their ancient name of "Philips;" while even at the present day they occasionally make their appearance as current coins, but if in good preservation are quickly appropriated by collectors. These gold coins have generally a young head, with a laurel wreath, which has been thought by some to represent the youthful Hercules, and by some, Apollo; but as we have seen on the preceding coins of Macedon, heads which may be conjectured to be portraits of the princes themselves, it is possible that this head may be a portrait of Philip, crowned as a victor in the Olympic games. Plutarch relates that Alexander ridiculed the idea of his father commemorating his victories at the games upon his coins—a remark which must refer to the biga (or two-horse chariot), on the reverse of his gold staters (see Plate 3, No. 10).

The biga and quadriga (or car with two and four horses), indicating triumphs at the Olympic games, are favourite types on the Sicilian coins—the Sicilians, as well as the Greeks of Magna Græcia, having been very frequently victors at these celebrated festivals; but other places, equally celebrated as fortunate competitors

at the great national festivities of Greece, have not placed either the biga or quadriga on the coins; and this remark applies especially to Crotona, whose citizens were victorious at the games of several Olympiads in almost uninterrupted succession.

A few coins of Philip II. have a head of Hercules, with the lion's skin ;* but in general his gold staters have the youthful laureated head above described, and on the reverse the biga. His silver, generally pieces of two drachms, have generally a head of Jupiter, finely executed on the obverse, and on the reverse a horseman wearing the Macedonian hat. This Macedonian hat may be traced on Macedonian coins, even from the time of Alexander I. (see specimen, No. 12, Plate 1 ; and Nos. 1 and 3, Plate 3), with the horse stepping, and the inscription "ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ" (of Philip). These coins are executed in remarkably sharp and high relief, though not perhaps with the refinement of some of the coins of the Greek islands and colonies. There are many types and varieties on the silver coinage of Philip; and his gold staters, becoming the general gold coin of the whole of Greece, were in some cases copied by other states, especially by the Sicilians, and there are some found, with the Sicilian Proserpine and dolphins on one side, and the Macedonian horse and the name of Philip (ΦΟΠΠΙΛΙΦ), written from right to left on the other. Philip married Olympia, a daughter of Arisbas, King of Epirus, who became the mother of Alexander the Great. She has been described as the "wife, daughter, sister, and mother of a king," (her brother became King of Epirus).

Alexander III. (the Great) succeeded his father Philip II. in 336, and reigned till 323 B. C. His coins are very abundant, being, after his conquests, struck in almost every town of Grecian origin in Asia, and in a great number of those, not only of Macedon, but of the Peloponessus and the Greek islands. A small rose in the field shows when the coin has been struck at Rhodes ; a bee, at Ephesus ; a lion and star, at Miletus, in Ionia ; the letters ΚΟΛΟ indicate the town of Colophon, and ΜΥΡΙ the town of Myrina. There are also numeral letters on some of Alexander's coins, probably the date of the foundation of the town in which they were struck ; and as nearly all these have Φ in the field, it is conjectured it may be that of the town of Philippi, founded by his father. These small types accompany the sitting Jupiter on the reverse, which is generally the Jupiter Aetophores, or eagle carrying Jupiter. Nearly all his silver coins are tetradrachms, with a head of Hercules on one side, wearing the usual head-dress formed of a lion's skin, and on the other a sitting Jupiter, with the inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (of Alexander), Plate 4, Nos. 4, 5, and 6.

Visconti, and the author of the "Tresor Numismatique," consider it beyond a doubt that the head of Hercules on the silver coins is, in fact, a *portrait* of Alexander himself, and the learned dissertation of the former appears on reading it, quite conclusive; but when we compare this head of Hercules, with similar heads on the coins attributed to his predecessors (for he was not, as I have stated in a preceding chapter (see page 38) the first to adopt it), our faith is a little shaken. It was in fact a national symbol—Hercules being, according to the Mythologic legend, the father of Caranus, the founder of the Macedonian monarchy. None who examine the coins of Alexander the Great, with the head of Hercules, can fail to be struck with the close resemblance, not only of the head and dress in general, but even of

* These may possibly be coins of his natural son Philip, who, after the death of Alexander the Great, coined money with the precise types of his half-brother, but with the name of Philip.

the features, with the earlier coins of the same type. It is possible that the well-known bust of Alexander in the Louvre, to which Visconti refers, was also made in the traditional likeness of this family Hercules, which will account for its likeness to the coins. There is a rare coin of Alexander, with an elephant's skin instead of a lion's skin on the head, but with the same features. It is supposed that this new head-dress was adopted after his Indian victories; but this is not clear, as there are Sicilian coins of Agathocles of the same character; which, however, may allude in a similar manner to the conquests of Agathocles over the Carthaginians, who, as well as the Asiatics, made use of elephants in their armies.

The gold staters of Alexander have a head of Minerva on the obverse, and on the reverse a figure of Victory; they are beautifully executed coins (Plate 4, Nos. 6 and 7). Probably great numbers of the Persian *darics*, now so rare, were melted down for this coinage.

Some of the most beautiful coins of Greece, Sicily, and Magna Græcia were executed about this period; for though, as just observed, the age of Pericles, about a century earlier, is celebrated as the great age of Greek art, on account partly, perhaps, of the erection of the Parthenon at that period, and the celebrity of the noble sculptures of Phidias with which it was adorned; yet, as far as I have been able to examine those coins to which a positive date can be assigned, I find them belonging to a period nearly a century later, namely, about that of Alexander the Great. Some of the most beautiful of the Syracusan coins, and some of those of Magna Græcia, belong, however, to a period above half a century earlier than the time of Alexander. But many coins of Greece and Asia Minor, bearing no mark or character by which a *precise* period can be ascertained, have been fondly attributed at once to the age of Pericles and Phidias: in fact, a really fine Greek coin, the workmanship and general character of which would at all warrant such a theory, is almost invariably attributed to the school of artists cotemporary with the great Phidias—the name of Phidias at once occurs to the memory, as the great representative of Grecian sculpture. But there are many other names equally great, though less known, occupying successive periods extending over two centuries, to whose influence fine works of art might, with equal justice, be attributed, especially Praxiteles, who flourished exactly a century later, and was cotemporary with Alexander the Great. To such points, however, I shall briefly refer in a short chapter devoted to the *art* and *types* on Greek coins of the finest periods.

Before glancing at the coins of other states of the period, it may still be found more convenient to glance at the succession of princes who occupied the throne of Macedon after the death of Alexander the Great, till the subjection of the state by the Romans, 167 B. C., giving such brief account of their various coins as my confined space will allow.

Alexander the Great, as is well known, died at Babylon of a fever, caused by excesses of every description; and Philip III. (or Aridæus, as he is sometimes called), a natural son of Philip II. and half brother of Alexander, was chosen his successor by the principal generals; who, nevertheless, each ruled independently the state he had seized, and continued to do so during the extreme youth of Alexander's posthumous son, a child of the beautiful Roxana. The mock reign of Philip, a weak prince, who was a mere tool in the hands of the generals of Alexander, may be

said to have lasted, though in form only, till his death, 316 B.C.; after which Cassander openly assumed the government of Macedon. The coins struck during this nominal reign of Philip may be known by being of the precise style of those of Alexander, but with the name ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. They have the head of Hercules, like Alexander, which, if a *portrait*, as some imagine, would not have been continued after his death.

It is necessary, in order to make clear the succession of Cassander, to recapitulate in a few words the events which led to it. Alexander, on quitting Macedonia for the Persian invasion, left Antipater governor of the state during his absence; on the death of Antipater, his son Cassander, having by assassination removed Alexander's infant son, his mother Roxana, and even Olympia the mother of Alexander himself, assumed the government of the state; and reigned from 315 to 296 B.C. In a numismatic point of view his reign of nineteen years is uninteresting; no coins of his, but a few coarse copper, being known. Neither has Philip IV., the son of Cassander, who succeeded his father, and reigned from B.C. 296 to 295, left any well-authenticated coins.

Alexander IV., the son of Philip IV., like his father and grandfather, has left no authentic coins, for Visconti's attributions are disputed on good grounds; and the line of the usurper Cassander was extinguished with Alexander IV., without leaving any numismatic monument of its illegal sway.

Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who had caused Alexander IV. to be assassinated, succeeded him. This Demetrius is distinguished by the surname of Poliorcetes, or taker of towns. He has left no Macedonian coins, but there is a magnificent tetradrachm struck by his father, in commemoration of a great naval victory obtained by Demetrius over Ptolemy Soter. It bears a noble head of Jupiter on the obverse, and on the reverse, Apollo sitting on the prow of a vessel.

Lysimachus, who had Thrace and a portion of Asia bordering the Bosphorus and the Hellespont for his share of the Alexandrian empire, obtained possession of Macedonia by driving out Demetrius. The coins of Lysimachus are imitations, in style, of those of Alexander the Great. But the tetradrachms have frequently a head with a ram's horn, which Eckhel and Visconti do not consider as attributes of Jupiter Ammon, but of the horned Bacchus, from whom Lysimachus pretended to derive his descent. These tetradrachms have generally a Minerva on the reverse, holding a victory; and the inscription is "Of the King Lysimachus" (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ—ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ). The head on the obverse is thought by Visconti to be a portrait, and it certainly does not appear to be copied, in the detail of the features, from that on the coins of Alexander.

Some copper coins of the city of Lysimachia, founded by Lysimachus, bear a head which appears, undoubtedly, to be his portrait. It resembles the horned head of the tetadrachms, but has simply the regal bandelet; on the reverse is a lion, with the inscription ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΕΩΝ (of the Lysimachians). There is the less reason to doubt the probability of these being portraits, as we find Ptolemy Soter, the cotemporary of Lysimachus, boldly placing a positive and simple portrait on his coins, which is perhaps the first well authenticated example.

The lion on the reverse of the coins of Lysimachia is supposed to commemorate an interesting event in the career of Lysimachus. He was a pupil of Callisthenes, whom

Alexander, in a fit of revenge for the unflinching honesty with which the philosopher judged some of the excesses of the conqueror, caused him to be cruelly mutilated and placed in an iron cage with a dog. Lysimachus, his old pupil, furnished in a poisoned cup of drink, the means of putting an end to his excruciating sufferings. For this act of compassion Alexander caused Lysimachus to be exposed to the fury of a lion; but, twisting a mantle round his arm, he thrust it into the throat of the animal, as it sprung upon him, and tearing out his tongue, caused the creature such intense agony that it turned, and fled.

Coins struck by Lysimachus, at Ephesus, which he rebuilt and named after his wife, Arsinoë; a name which it only preserved for a short time, are very interesting. I allude to those bearing the portrait of Arsinoë, in the style of those of Philistis, Queen of Hiero, of Syracuse, which latter were possibly struck in imitation of those of Arsinoë. For the Sicilians of that period, since the conquests of Alexander, took the manners and customs of the Grecians in all things as their model; they had previously sent an embassy into the East, in the year 330 B. C., to compliment Alexander the Great on his victories. In copying, however, they frequently surpassed the originals,* and the head of Philistis, just alluded to, is much more finely executed than that of Arsinoë on the coins of Ephesus.† These coins with the head of Arsinoë had been (till Mr. Borrell corrected the mistake) attributed to the city of *Arsinoe*, in Cyrenaica, and to other places; the first letters APΣI being in the place usually given to the name of the town on Greek coins; but the symbols of Ephesus, the *stag* and *bee*, prove the attribution of Mr. Borrell to be correct—a fact, which the comparison of a number of coins has confirmed. This example is a good illustration of the difficulties attending the attribution of coins to the right places. In this instance, but for the production of the fact, that Ephesus was named after Arsinoë, from its rebuilding by Lysimachus to the death of that prince, this coin would either have remained a puzzle, or have been attributed to a place to which it did not belong. Arsinoë was afterwards (according to Egyptian custom) married to her brother, Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Lysimachus, and Seleucus, who together, held dominion over great part of Alexander's Asiatic dominions, were the last remaining captains of the great leader, and though each near eighty years of age, had lost none of their ambition or military activity. A struggle for the sole empire took place between them, and in the great battle that was the consequence, Lysimachus was killed, and his race became extinct. Of twelve sons, promising a long dynastic line, none remained after this fatal battle; all then living, being slain on that day—the event of which plunged the affairs of Macedon and Thrace‡ into the greatest confusion.

* See Chapter on Sicilian coins.

† Lysimachus struck many coins at Chalcedonia, which was a convenient place of residence for him, having possessions on both sides of the Bosphorus. Here he was nearly opposite his Thracian capital, Byzantium. Some of the coins of this place have Arsinoë, his wife, as Ceres, for their principal device.

‡ The first King of Thrace noticed by historians is Teres, who reigned about B. C. 431, which remained a powerful and independent state, till about the time of Philip II., when Seuthes III. reigned in Thrace, at which period the country appears to have become tributary to Macedonia. The kingdom of Thrace, after the death of Lysimachus, was for some time embroiled in civil wars, and some time under the sway of the Gauls, one of whom, Caranus, assumed the title of king. After whom Seuthes IV., of the ancient race of Thracian kings, again appears on the throne, and was succeeded by several others, the country remaining an independent power till the reign of Claudius, when, in the forty-seventh year of our era, it became a Roman province. The most ancient coin of the Thracian kings, is that of Seuthes III. about 313 B. C.; it is in the Bib. Nat. Paris.

A touching circumstance is related concerning the death of Lysimachus. Falling on the field of battle, in the thickest of the fight, at the age of nearly eighty, his body was only discovered, some days after, by the continued watching of his favourite dog. It had never quitted the body of its dead master, and kept off the birds of prey that were collected to feast on the field of carnage. This trait of animal affection appears to have struck the chroniclers of the time with great admiration; for even the name of the dog (Hircanus) has been preserved by them.

Seleucus, after the death of Lysimachus, took the title of King of Macedon, but none of his coins record the event, for he was assassinated by his brother-in-law Ptolemy Ceraunus, while on his way to take possession of the kingdom. Ceraunus assumed the title of King of Macedon, which was disputed also by Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, and by Antigonus, the son of Demetrius. Ceraunus was killed in repelling an invasion of the Gauls under Belgius. There are no coins of Ceraunus. Meleager, the brother of Ceraunus, Antipater, a brother of Philip, son of Cassander, and Sosthenes, then each held the chief power for a short time in quick succession. Sosthenes being slain in a battle with the Gauls under Brennus,* in the year 278 B. C.

Antigonus Gonatus assumed the chief power in 278 B. C. He was a son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and derived his surname from the town of Gonni in Thessaly, where he was educated. He was dethroned by Pyrrhus, who thus for the second time obtained possession of Macedonia, but only for a short time. There are no good coins of the time of Antigonus Gonatus, and those of Pyrrhus must be mentioned in another place. Pyrrhus committed frightful ravages in the country, even violating the sanctity of the tombs of the ancient kings of Macedon, and carrying off the treasures they contained. After the death of Pyrrhus at the siege of Argos, Antigonus regained his power, and reigned till the year 242 B. C., dying at the age of eighty-four. He was esteemed a great prince—but no good coins record the state of Macedonian art during his reign.

Demetrius II., son of Antigonus, ascended the throne about 242 B. C., and after conquests in Africa and elsewhere, died about 232 B. C. History is very obscure about this period, and no remarkable coins exist to aid in dispelling the darkness.

Antigonus *Doson* (the promise breaker) married Phtia, the widow of his brother Demetrius II., and reigned till 221 B. C. No remarkable coins of his reign are known.

Philip V., his son, ascended the throne at the age of fourteen, and proved himself worthy of the name borne by the father of the great Alexander. He was (virtually) the last, but one of the greatest kings of Macedon, yet having to struggle against the irresistible, and now rapidly spreading, empire of Rome, his power and influence in Greece and Asia, became much reduced towards the end of a long and active reign of forty-three years, during which, with various success, he had kept at bay the giant power of the Roman state. He died in the year 178 B. C.

The coinage appears to have received much attention in his reign, and very fine tetradrachms and didrachms are known, bearing a well-executed portrait head in a fine style of art; and on the reverse a figure of Minerva, executed in imitation of the *archaic* style, doubtless a copy of some well-known ancient statue. For the Greeks

* For notice of the invasion under Brennus, see end of chapter on coins of Carthage, Gaul, &c., &c.

began at that time to perceive certain beauties in the ancient style of art, and to make accurate reproductions of its monuments, just as we are now reproducing with such careful accuracy some of the stiff and partially rude works of the fifteenth century, and earlier periods. But the Greeks had a better excuse, inasmuch as the object so copied was generally some sacred statue, rendered still more so by high antiquity, and the traditions connected with it as the image of a tutelary deity.

There is a coin of the Roman family Metellus, which records the embassy of Metellus to Philip V.,* of Macedon. Perseus, a natural son of Philip, attempted to throw off the Roman influence and resist their encroachments, but not possessing the abilities of his father, his rashness soon proved his ruin—affording the Romans an excellent excuse for the complete subjugation of Macedonia, as a Roman province; which, unopposed by the activity and ability of such a prince as Philip, the consul Paulus Æmilius easily effected in 167 B. C., and the unfortunate Perseus, after an inglorious reign of eleven years, became a wretched prisoner in Rome, after suffering, with all the remaining members of the royal family of Macedon, the degradation of forming part of the procession, in a Roman triumph. Macedonia was the first portion of Greece that fell beneath the Roman power, but the rest soon followed. Corinth, and the whole territory of the Achaian league, about the year 146 B. C. by the conquests of Lucius Mummius; and Athens in the year 38 B. C., beneath the armies of Sylla.

* See family coins, Page 142, and following.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE COINS OF THE PTOLEMIES, OR LAGIDÆ, THE GREEK SOVEREIGNS OF EGYPT.

THE two most beautiful and important series of Greek regal coins are undoubtedly those of the *Lagidæ*, and those of the *Seleucidæ* — the former being those of Ptolemy, the son of *Lagus*, and his descendants, who obtained possession of Egypt; the latter, those of Seleucus and his descendants, who, at the same period, obtained permanent possession of a large portion of the Asiatic conquests of Alexander.

To understand the relative position of the Seleucian and Lagian princes in Asia and Africa, we must just refresh our memory with a glance at the state of the Macedonian empire on the death of its founder.

The death of Alexander occurred 324 B. C., and the dissolution, or rather separation, of his empire, was almost immediate; for the reign of his half-brother Philip Arideus, who had been elected to succeed him, his son, a child of Roxana, being an infant, was merely nominal; yet such was the permanent influence, either of the master-mind of the great conqueror, or of the peculiar character of Greek civilization, that the empire then founded, by a system of Hellenic colonization, although only ten years in creation, reduced the vast countries of Asia to the state of a Grecian province, during the life of Alexander and his immediate successors; and the Greek influence, both of manners, customs, and language, was felt even in India for 500 years afterwards, as I shall more particularly allude to in speaking of Parthian and Greco-Indian coins.

Alexander had adopted the only immediately available method of governing his vast and rapidly acquired dominions, that of *Satrapies*, or independent separate governments, as practised in the east. He had not time to organize a more complete form of administration—thus, his domination became a sort of permanent military occupation; the commandant of each district being the satrap, in whose person every authority of the state over which he presided was centered. On the death of Alexander, there was no great controlling name to hold each satrap in subjection, his nominal successor, his half-brother Philip, being utterly insignificant. The men invested with the governments of the empire at this period, were some of Alexander's most tried commanders and administrators, Antigonus, Craterus, Eumenes, Seleucus, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Cassander;* and the only means available to a feeble central government to quell disturbance in case of individual insubordination, was to employ one *satrap* against another. In this manner Eumenes, Governor of Cappadocia, was employed against Craterus, the personal favourite of Alexander. Craterus was defeated and slain, but the Macedonians, with

* An ancient author (Trogus Pompey) has remarked—that, such was the personal appearance and commanding powers of the great generals of Alexander, that they appeared the elite, not of one nation, but of the whole human race.

whom he was very popular, resented his death, and employed Antigonus against Eumenes. After varying success on either side, Eumenes being betrayed by his guards, was defeated and taken prisoner; while the victor, Antigonus, with a remarkable trait of Grecian grandeur, to show his disgust at the treachery of these chosen soldiers, the *argyraspides*, or silvershields, banished them to the hard service of Arachotia. Seleucus, governor of Babylon, was next displaced by Antigonus, who soon became master of all the east, and assumed the title of King of Asia. But he was doomed in his turn to be overcome by Seleucus, who returning, aided by Ptolemy, recovered great part of Asia; and eventually being farther aided by Lysimachus and Cassander, completely defeated Antigonus at the memorable battle of Ipsus, in Phrygia, when he was slain, at the age of eighty. Of the coins struck by Antigonus, one very fine tetradrachm is known, which was struck in commemoration of the great naval victory obtained by his son Demetrius over Ptolemy, described at page 61. The number of competitors was now reduced to four, who shared the empire in the following manner:—Lysimachus had Thrace and the Chersonesus; Cassander obtained possession of Macedonia; Seleucus, surnamed Nicanor, the victorious, ruled over the greater portion of the Alexandrian conquests in Asia; and Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, remained in possession of Egypt.

It will be more convenient to describe the coins of the Lagidæ, or Egyptian series, first, as they are not like those of the Seleucidæ, linked on to other closely allied and successive series.

The Egyptians, under their ancient and national form of government, either did not understand, or did not adopt the use of coins (see pages 17 and 18). During the two periods of Persian domination, it is possible that the *silver* darics* circulated there, though many numismatists consider that their circulation was confined to the Greek states in subjection to Persia, in Asia Minor; however this may be, there are certainly no specimens existing of a national metallic money in Egypt; but at the time that Alexander the Great subdued the country, which was then in subjection to Darius Codoman, it must have been very rich in gold. One of the first cares of the Macedonian conquerors was to provide a coinage for the subdued countries, which accounts for the vast number of the coins of Alexander the Great still in existence. But while the great bulk of the coins issued by Alexander and his Greek successors in Asia, the Seleucidæ, were nearly all silver; the coins of the first Greek Kings of Egypt are in great part gold.

Ptolemy Lagus, surnamed *Soter* (saviour), given to him by the Rhodians, whom he delivered from the attack of Demetrius, was a natural son of Philip II., of Macedon, by his concubine Arsenoë, whom he caused to be married before the birth of Ptolemy, to Lagus, a man of low extraction. The child Ptolemy became a friend and sharer in the triumphs of his half-brother Alexander, and on the partition of the empire, became King of Egypt. He was a remarkable man, and like many other of the gigantic organizations brought into prominent action by the enterprises of Alexander, lived to a great age, dying 285 B. C., aged ninety-two. His name will ever remain prominent in the history of civilization, as the founder of the celebrated museum at Alexandria, and as founder also of the great library, rendered so famous

* See also page 28.

Nos. 1 and 2.—Represent the obverse and reverse of a copper coin of Amyntas II., King of Macedon, who reigned from 393 to 369 B. C. (see page 39).

No 3.—Is the reverse of a didrachm, or two-drachm piece of Philip II. of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great. It has the inscription ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ (PHILLIPPOU) "Of Philip." The obverse of this coin has a sharply-executed head of Jupiter. Philip II. reigned from 359 to 336 B. C. (see page 58).

Nos. 4 and 5.—Are the obverse and reverse of a tetradrachm, or four-drachm piece of Alexander the Great, who reigned from 336 to 323 B. C. The head is generally supposed to be the portrait of Alexander, in the character of Hercules. The reverse is a figure of Jupiter, and the inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (ALEXANDROU), "Of Alexander," accompanied by two monograms, which have not been explained. This coin is supposed to have been executed in Macedonia, as the high and bold relief accords with the Macedonian style exhibited in the didrachm of his father Philip (No. 3), (see pages 59 and 60).

No. 6.—Is a tetradrachm of Alexander the Great, struck in Asia, and in its more delicate and refined, though perhaps less grandiose treatment, forms a striking contrast to the Macedonian coin. The reverse of this coin is similar to No. 5, but has in addition a small inscription in Phœnician characters, which marks the district of Asia, in which it was executed.

Nos. 7 and 8.—Are the obverse and reverse of a gold stater of Alexander. The obverse (No. 8) has a head of Minerva; the reverse a Victory, holding a wreath of laurel over a helmet, and the inscription, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, as on No. 5 (see page 60).

Nos. 9 and 10.—Are the obverse and reverse of a coin of Rhodes, which does not exactly accord with the usual weight of the didrachm. The head on the obverse is that of Apollo, or the Sun, supposed to be that of the celebrated Colossus. The reverse has a *rose* for type, in allusion to the name of the island, which in Greek signifies rose. The inscription above the rose is, ΡΟΔΙΟΝ (RODION), "Of the Rhodians," and that below the flower is probably the name of a magistrate. There is also a monogram, which has not been deciphered. This coin belongs to a period between 300 and 400 B. C. (page 110).

No. 11.—Is the reverse of a coin of Locris, of Opuntia, of nearly the weight of a didrachm. The figure is Ajax, and the inscription, ΟΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ (OPONTIŌN), "Of the Opuntians." The obverse of this coin has a head of Proserpine, similar to the fine head on the Syracusan medallion (No. 8, Plate 3). It is of about the same date as the previous coin (see page 113).

No. 12.—Is a fine coin of uncertain value, possibly a decadrachm, or piece of ten drachms. It is of the Sicilian city of Agrigentum, but most probably of a later period than any other coin on this plate, possibly about 270 B. C. (see page 48).

Pl. 4.

BY BARCLAY'S PROCESS, 22, GERRARD STREET, LONDON.

by his successor, that Alexandria received the name of the mother of books. This famous library was accidentally destroyed by fire, 200 years after its creation, during the siege of the place by Julius Cæsar; so that the subsequent conqueror of Alexandria, the Caliph Omar, may be absolved from part of the odium attaching to his name, on account of its destruction. Diodorus Siculus, among other ancient authors, speaks of the fine qualities of the first Ptolemy. The earliest gold coins of Ptolemy were of the attic standard, and bore the head of Minerva, like those of Alexander the Great, and at the back, a victory, (see Plate 4, figs. 6 and 7). One sold at Mr. Thomas's sale, and struck at Cyrene after its capture by Ptolemy, has the inscription ΚΤΡΑΝΙΩ[Ν] ΠΤΟΛΕΜΜΑΙ [ΟΥ], wrongly deciphered in the catalogue of that sale.* Some of the coins on which his own portrait first appears, have on the reverse a car drawn by elephants, in which is a standing figure carrying a shield, and on one coin, a flower,† and on another a *thunderbolt*. Eckhel and Mionnet thought this figure was Jupiter, but Atheneus has preserved a passage of Callixines of Rhodes, from which we learn that, at the funeral honours paid to Alexander, and which had been two years in preparation, the procession was closed by a magnificent car, drawn by elephants, in which was placed a golden statue of Alexander. With regard to the thunderbolt, which gave rise to the mistake of Eckhel and Mionnet, and which has been detected by Mr. Longperrier, it appears that in the temple of Diana, at Ephesus, Alexander was painted holding a thunderbolt (pinxit et Alexandrum magnum fulmen tenentem in templo Ephesia Dianæ), so that in fact this piece commemorates the funeral of Alexander the Great, which took place in the spring of the year 321 B. C. These pieces are among the earliest struck by Ptolemy, I. in which the *Egyptian* standard is adopted; that struck at Cyrene, just described, being, as stated, of the *attic* standard; therefore, the date of the emission of that piece may be thus established to within *six months*, being issued *after* the taking of Cyrene, and at or *before* the time of the funeral of Alexander. There is a specimen of this interesting coin in the British Museum. That Ptolemy should have issued this coin is explained by the fact, that the remains of Alexander were brought to Alexandria, the city founded by him as the capital of the world, and there deposited.

Some of the first coins of Ptolemy Soter were imitations of those of Alexander, but his later money has his own portrait, very finely executed (see the fine gold pentadrachm, Plate 5, Fig. 1). The name Soter occurs sometimes on his coins without *Basileus*, as Visconti says, "being greater than king." Cicero, speaking of the title of Soter, says, "that it is so great, that it cannot be translated into *one* latin word"— (Ita magnum ut latino uno verbo exprimi non possit);‡ it would appear that we should translate it as *Saviour-god*, for the Rhodians erected a temple to him, after consulting the oracle of Ammon on the propriety of conferring the title. There is a medal, with the profiles of Ptolemy and Berenice, the portraits one over the other, with the simple inscription ΘΕΟΙ, (God's). There are also magnificent gold octodrachms of his Queen Berenice, which have generally a cornucopiæ for reverse, with the name and title of the queen. The commonest type

* Longperrier.

† The Achemenidian kings of Persia, of whom Alexander constituted himself the successor, are represented in the sculptures at Persepolis, holding a flower.

‡ Lib. 2, in Verreini.

of the coins of Ptolemy is perhaps that with the portrait, and the eagle and thunderbolt for reverse, which became a sort of heraldic type of the Ptolemies (see Plate 5, Figs. 1 and 2), afterwards found on most of the series.

His son, Ptolemy *Philadelphus*,* who was already associated in the regal power, succeeded him in 285 B. C., and reigned till 246 B. C. After the Egyptian custom he married his sister Arsinoë, the widow of Lysimachus, and at her death he was overwhelmed with grief. He founded several cities to which he gave her name, and intended to construct a temple, the roof of which should be of loadstone, to sustain her statue suspended in the air; but the celebrated architect Dinocrates, who had suggested the idea and made the plan, dying, he was compelled to abandon the project. He collected learned men about his court, among whom were Theocritus, Euclid, Lycophron, and Callimachus, and increased the library founded by his father, to the number of 200,000 volumes. During his reign it is generally supposed that the Greek translation of the Old Testament, known as the Septuagint, was made for the use of the Jews settled in Egypt, who had adopted the Greek language; they were very numerous, Ptolemy Soter having encouraged them to settle in Alexandria, to people and complete the new city so recently founded by Alexander.

There are fine coins of Ptolemy Philadelphus, some with two profiles, representing him with his wife Arsinoë on the obverse, while the reverse has two similar profiles of Ptolemy Soter and Berenice, his father and mother, struck no doubt in their memory. There are very splendid coins of his wife and sister Arsinoë, gold octodrachms (see Plate 5, Fig. 3), which have the usual reverse of the coins of the Queens of the Greco-Egyptian and Greco-Syrian dynasties, a cornucopiæ, and an inscription with the name and title of the queen.

The example given at Plate 5, No. 3, is not so fine in art as the more common ones of the same type; but its excessively sharp execution and bold relief rendered it extremely well fitted for the process by which the illustrations to this volume are executed. The K, at the side of the portrait, is supposed to indicate that it was struck at Cyprus, where the arts were not in so fine a state as at the great and newly-created capital, Alexandria, whither artists and philosophers were invited from all parts of the known world by the first Ptolemies.

Ptolemy *Evergete* (the benefactor) reigned from B. C. 246 to 221. On his return from Syria, which he invaded to avenge the death of his sister Berenice, he brought back above 2500 statues which had been carried into Asia at the time of the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses. The Egyptians, delighted at the recovery of their statue gods, gave him on that occasion his surname of *Evergete*. He died beloved by his subjects, and regretted even by his enemies. His portrait, as it appears on his coins, resembles that of his grandfather *Soter*; the reverse has the now general type of the Greco-Egyptian money, the *Eagle*, with the inscription "Of the King Ptolemy" (ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ). The reverses of coins bearing effigies of the queens of this dynasty have generally, as has been remarked, a cornucopiæ, and fine examples exist of the coins of Berenice, the Queen of Evergete, with that symbol on the reverse, and the inscription. "Of the Queen Berenice" (ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ).

* Lover of brothers, or brother-lover. Some suppose him to have been satirically so named, because he had put two of his brothers to death.

Ptolemy Philopater (father lover), as some assert, so called ironically from being suspected of having poisoned his father Evergete. The glory of the early Ptolemies departed with the reign of Philopater, which was a disgraceful one, stained by the most fearful crimes; but he was successful in a war against the King of Syria, and added Palestine to his own dominions. There is a legend to the effect that, visiting the temple of Jerusalem, and persisting in entering the sanctuary, he was stopped in a mysterious manner, by a miracle. On his return to Egypt he sought to revenge himself, as it is said, for this affront, on the unoffending Jews of Alexandria, by placing numbers of them in the line of the course at the elephant race, that they might be trampled to death; but those animals, on the contrary, are said to have turned from them, and rushed among the Egyptian spectators. This event is supposed to have been the cause of his being afterwards a benefactor to the Jews; and he is also said, in the latter part of his reign, to have assisted the Rhodians with immense sums of money, after they had suffered from a dreadful earthquake. There are fine gold coins of both himself and his sister-wife Arsinoë, but not both on the same coin. Ptolemy Philopater appears on some of his coins, without the title of king.

Ptolemy Epiphanes began to reign at the age of fourteen, and reigned from 204 to about 180 B. C. The province of Palestine was reconquered in this reign by Antiochus the Great, but re-ceded to Egypt, on the marriage of Ptolemy with Cleopatra, the daughter of the Syrian king. At his coronation he took the title of "*The present and propitious god*" (Theos Epiphanes Eucharistos), he preserved his dominions against the efforts of Antiochus the Great and the King of Macedon, only by the protection of the Romans. Coins are attributed to him, though only bearing the family name of Ptolemy, on account of the likeness of the portrait to his mother Arsinoë, and to its being crowned with the crown of rays assumed by kings who took the title of *Epiphanes*, or gods that manifest themselves to mortals. On the reverse, those with the crown have the cornucopiæ; those without, have the usual eagle. The portraits on the latter are easily known by their resemblance to the crowned ones. After a reign of great infamy he was poisoned, and his son placed on the throne.

Ptolemy Philometor (mother lover), perhaps ironically so called, from his detestation of his mother Cleopatra (for the Alexandrians, next to the Athenians, were the most satirical of citizens), reigned from 180 to 146 B. C. In his reign the famous dispute took place between the Jews and Samaritans of Alexandria; the former maintaining that God ought to be worshipped according to the laws of Moses, the latter, according to Gazirim. The dispute was heard before the royal council, and decided by Ptolemy in favour of the Jews. Philometor died under the hands of his surgeons, who were attempting the operation of trepanning, for a wound he had received in a battle against Alexander Bala, the usurper of the throne of Syria. The opposite version of the origin of his surname is, that his dominions were partly preserved to him during his youth by the wise government of his mother Cleopatra, and his filial gratitude caused him to take the name of "mother lover." Some of his coins have the name at full length, βασι ΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΜΕΤΟΡΟΣ ("Of the King Ptolemy, God, Philometor"). The others without names are known by the likeness of the portrait.

Ptolemy *Evergete* II., otherwise called *Phiscon* (big bellied), succeeded his brother Philometor, marrying the widow of the latter, and poisoning his son. He died 116 B.C., stained with every conceivable crime, and by popular indignation he received the surname of *cacourgetes* (the evil doer). There are good coins, of the usual types, of Evergete II., and also of his widow Cleopatra, the latter with an elephant* head-dress, the origin of which is not known.

Ptolemy *Lathures* (so named, according to some, from a wort on his nose), succeeded his father, in the year 116, and reigned till 106 B. C., and after the death of Ptolemy, Alexander his brother, who had previously usurped the throne, reigned again till the year 88 B. C. He assumed the title, *Theos Soter* (saviour god), the only inscription on coins attributed to him is "of the King Ptolemy;" but the trident, in allusion to his well-known naval supremacy, and the rayed crown, in allusion to his title of Theos, renders it not doubtful that the attribution is correct. There are coins with the portrait of his second wife, Cleopatra Selene.

About this period Berenice is described as reigning alone, and then with Alexander to whom there are coins attributed, with the elephant head-dress assumed by his mother Cleopatra, the wife of Physcon.

Ptolemy *Auletes* (the flute player), the son of Lathures, occupied the throne from 73 to 51 B. C., including his temporary exile. His crimes and tyranny so irritated the Alexandrians that he was expelled the kingdom, and his eldest child Berenice, declared queen in his stead. He fled to Rome, and was eventually replaced on the throne by the aid of Gabinius, the lieutenant of Pompey, when he reigned in conjunction with his sister Cleopatra till 51 B. C. The family name of Ptolemy alone, occurs on the coins attributed to him, but many circumstances tend to prove them to be his; they are of thinner metal than those of the previous Ptolemy's, and his portrait has a wreath of laurel, or flowers.

The two children of Auletes, Ptolemy, the younger (sometimes called Dionysius or Bacchus), and his sister, the celebrated Cleopatra, were left by their father under the guardianship of the Roman senate, 51 B.C. Pompey enabled him to repudiate his sister, to whom he was married by his father's will, and placed him on the throne alone; yet, after the fatal battle of Pharsalia, when Pompey took refuge in Egypt, the young king caused his benefactor to be put to death. On the subsequent invasion of Cæsar, Ptolemy bravely attempted to defend his country, but being defeated, he drowned himself in the Nile.

Drachmas, with the emblems of Bacchus in allusion to his surname, are attributed to Ptolemy Dionysius.

Cleopatra, who had called in the aid of Cæsar to regain her share in the government, was reinstated in conjunction with her brother, and after his death with her younger brother, whom however she caused to be poisoned that she might reign alone. Her intrigues with Cæsar, and the fate of their child Cæsarion, are too well known to require repetition. And the same may be said of her subsequent connexion with Anthony, and the offspring of that union. The children of Anthony and Cleopatra received from their father the title of "King of Kings," as appears on some rare coins struck in their honour. Immediately after the death of Anthony, who could not survive the disgrace of utter defeat, Cleopatra was found in a dying state—some

* See Page 60—and the coin of Alexander with the lion-skin head-dress in Plate 4.

relating that she died by the bite of an asp; but according to Dion nothing certain ever was known as to the immediate cause of her death, except that "two small livid marks like the pricks of a pin were noticed upon her arm." She died in the thirty-ninth year of her age, in the year 30 B. C. The statues of Anthony were thrown down by order of Octavius; but Archibius, a wealthy Alexandrian and supposed lover of Cleopatra, paid 1000 talents in order that those of Cleopatra might be spared.

There are Alexandrian copper coins with the portrait of Anthony on one side and that of Cleopatra on the other, but that of the latter is so hideous in expression and general appearance that it might be taken for a caricature, which in point of fact may be the case, as the coins are, in fact, of fabric apparently Roman—and not Egyptian—and might have been struck by the politic Augustus, to dispel the charm of romance which attached to the conjoined names of Anthony and Cleopatra; for the head of Anthony, though like, exhibits the reverse of the fine expression and noble air of the portraits on other coins, known to be genuine, especially a rare Asiatic silver Cistophorus, in the British Museum.

After Cleopatra, Egypt became a Roman province, and the coins of her brother may therefore be considered the last of those of the Lagidæ. The fine art displayed on the coins of some of his earliest ancestors had nearly entirely disappeared in his time, though one or two of his coins are far from insignificant pieces.

With regard to the surnames given to the Ptolemies by historians, it may be remarked, that, whilst on the Egyptian coins, surnames are generally omitted, which are continually referred to by historians; in the Parthian, or Arsicidan series, to be referred to hereafter, surnames occur on coins, which historians have neglected to mention.

CHAPTER IX.

COINS OF THE SELEUCIDÆ, THE GREEK SOVEREIGNS OF SYRIA.

AS I have stated in my chapter on the coins of the Lagidæ, those of the Grecian princes of Egypt, and of Syria, form the finest series of Greek regal money that is known; each containing the coins of a succession of powerful sovereigns during near two centuries and a half.

Seleucus having attained to supreme power in Asia about 312 B. C., founded a dynasty, generally described as the Kings of Syria, which endured above two centuries and a half.* Eckhel justly states that the series of coins of the Seleucidæ were first studied and made subservient to the elucidation of many historic difficulties connected with their empire, by Vaillant,† whose work was published in 1681;‡ accompanied by a good series of engravings. Nicholas Haym afterwards enlarged and improved the excellent work of Vaillant. The subject was further investigated by the labours of Erasmus Frölich; then followed Everard Fawkner, an Englishman, and then Pellerin, who, as I have stated in Chapter I., was the first to give to his engravings of coins their true irregular shape, instead of circles. The list of eminent works on the coins of the race of Seleucus is worthily closed by the work of the well-known English antiquarian Gough, who caused all the most interesting coins of the dynasty to be engraved by the celebrated Bartolozzi, accompanying them by an interesting biography of each successive prince. It is a really fine volume.

Seleucus *Nicanor*, the founder of the dynasty, was a remarkable prince, and his successes, which eventually gave him the largest share in the spoils of the Macedonian empire, were more the result of his great talents, than of any series of happy chances; he governed with mildness, and protected the arts and sciences. It was Seleucus Nicanor who sent back to the Greeks, the books and precious monuments which Xerxes had carried into Asia, and the grateful Athenians erected a statue in his honour at the entrance of the portico of the academy. He founded thirty-four towns in Asia, colonizing them with Greeks, thus spreading the language and arts of that people over nearly the whole of Central Asia, and even India, as far as Kabool and the Punjaub. He was assassinated by his brother-in-law, Ptolemy Ceraunus, in the year B. C. 282.

The coins of Seleucus Nicanor have not his portrait, unless the head of Hercules with the lion-skin head-dress, which Seleucus as well as many of Alexander's generals

* According to Eusebius, from the third year of the 117th., to the third year of the 125th Olympiad, a period of 251 years; according to Appian 270 years

† Vaillant was born at Beauvais in 1632, and was being educated for the medical profession, when the discovery of a casket of ancient medals in a field near Beauvais, caused him to turn all his attention to the study of antiquities, to which he devoted a long life; travelling all over Europe and the east in search of coins and other antiquities. After publishing several remarkable works he died in 1707.

‡ Seleucidarum imperium sive historia regum Syriæ, ad fidem numismatum accomodata.

adopted in indication of being his legitimate successor, may be said to be portraits, as Gough considered; but they are so much like the Asiatic coins of Alexander that I fear this pleasing theory must be given up. The reverses have generally a sitting Jupiter, like those of Alexander, with the simple name ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (of Seleucus), and a monograph, some of the later having the added title of king (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ), others have a head of Jupiter on the obverse, like the silver of Philip of Macedon, and on the reverse of these, is a Minerva, in a quadriga of elephants, in allusion to Indian conquests. There are other types of his coins, but all bearing his name and some his name and title.

There is one coin, a fine silver tetradrachm, having, most probably, his portrait; it is a fine head in a Greek helmet with cheek-piece. The museum specimen is not in sufficient preservation to yield an impression, or it would have formed one of my illustrations. A finely-preserved one in the Bank of England, is inaccessible for that purpose; no impressions being allowed to be taken from coins in that collection, and even the sight of them is rendered so irksome and inconvenient, that for the purposes of study the collection may be said to be useless.

Antiochus *Soter* (the saviour) succeeded Seleucus Nicanor, and reigned from 282 to 262 B. C. He was the first to employ elephants in European warfare, and was indebted to them for his victory over the Gauls of Galatia, but refused the honours offered him by the Macedonians on the occasion, and caused a painting of an elephant to be executed to record his triumph. Antiochus boldly placed his own portrait and regal title on his money, and the custom may henceforward be considered as established. The reverses have generally a graceful figure of Apollo sitting on the *Cortina*, and the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. There are many other types of his coins.

Antiochus II. *Theos* (the god, or according to some, because he was born at a place of that name), succeeded his father (*Soter*) in 262, and reigned till 247 B. C., when having married Berenice, the sister of Ptolemy *Evergete*, King of Egypt, his wife Laodicea, by whom he had already two sons, caused him to be poisoned, and Berenice and her child to be murdered, placing her own son, Seleucus, on the throne. This crime was punished by Ptolemy Evergete, as Laodicea perished in the war which he undertook to avenge the murder of his sister.

The coins of Antiochus II. are much like those of his predecessor, but some of the reverses have the Apollo, whilst others have a standing figure of Minerva. Some have the reverse of those of Alexander the Great, the sitting Jupiter. On the obverse of those with the Minerva, are the Dioscuri, on galloping horses, instead of a portrait.

Seleucus II., the son of the last Antiochus, began to reign 247 B. C. and reigned till 227 B. C. His coins have a good portrait, and on the reverse a fine standing figure of Apollo leaning on a tripod—some have an elephant—one, doubtful, has a horseman—all have the name and title. There is a *gold* coin with the standing Apollo, the only one known of the Seleucidæ in the time of Gough (1803), except those of Antiochus the Great.

Seleucus III., surnamed *Ceraunus* (the timid), reigned from 227 to 223 B. C., when he was killed by his own soldiers. Some of the smaller pieces of this period have the horse of Bactria, and some the humped bull of India, denoting conquests or alliances in those countries.

Antiochus III. (the great) succeeded his brother *Ceraunus*, and reigned till 187 B. C. Annibal, after his reverses, took refuge at the court of this prince for a time, and when the conquests of Antiochus appeared likely to subjugate the whole of Asia and even Greece; and Lampsacus and other independent Greek cities demanded protection from the Romans, Annibal encouraged him to resist that power. But he was defeated and compelled to submit to hard terms by Scipio Asiaticus. Though unable to cope with the power of Rome, he was a great and enlightened prince; he protected the Jews in the exercise of their own laws, and furnished them money necessary to the maintenance of the temple and the sacrifices. He rebuilt and magnificently embellished the town of Pelea, which was afterwards named after its renovator, and remained for many centuries one of the richest and most celebrated cities of Asia. The coins of Antiochus the Great are similar to those of his predecessors: on the tetradrachms is a fine portrait head, and on the reverse the sitting figure of Apollo finely executed (see Plate 5, Nos. 4 and 5). On the smaller coins the types are very various. The portraits exhibit him first in extreme youth, and afterwards in middle age, most of them being finely executed. The smaller, and copper coins have not all of them portraits on the obverse. There are gold of the same type and size as the tetradrachms, very magnificent coins; and also large copper of the same make, size, and type.

Seleucus IV. (Philopater) began to reign 187 B. C., and reigned about twelve years, when he was poisoned. His coins are mostly small copper of various types; the most common have the prow of a vessel for reverse.

Antiochus IV. (brother of Seleucus IV.), began to reign 176 B. C., and was surnamed Epiphanes (the illustrious), but sometimes called in derision Epimanes (the furious). He was the prince who profaned the temple of Jerusalem by sacrificing to Jupiter within its precincts, and then putting to death the high-priest Eleazor, and several of the Maccabees, causing the rebellion of the Jews under Matthias and Judas Maccabæus, which terminated in the temporary independence of the Jewish nation. His coins ought to be plentiful, as one of the anecdotes related by his chroniclers is to the effect that, he caused bags of silver coins to be carried after him, scattering the money as he went, and declaring that those who followed the footsteps of their king ought to be fortunate. He died in consequence of a fall from his chariot, about 170 B. C.

The fine coins of Antiochus IV. with his portrait, have, for the first time in this series (on the copper coins), a radiated crown, instead of the usual fillet or bandelet; and it became usual in this reign to add the surname to the inscription, which stands "ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ," thus describing himself as "the *God* and King, Antiochus the illustrious;" and on some ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ" (the illustrious and victorious god).* Some of the large copper have a head of Jupiter on the obverse, and on the reverse a fine eagle on a thunderbolt; some have a head which appears to be Diana. The tetradrachms in general have a sitting Jupiter on the reverse similar to those of Alexander the Great, but with the inscriptions above described.

His son Antiochus *Eupator*, who succeeded him, was killed in 162 B. C. by the troops of his cousin, Demetrius *Soter*, a grandson of Antiochus the Great. Judas Mac-

* This assumption of the magniloquence of the east in titular splendour, will be found still more remarkable in the Greco-Parthian and Greco Bactrian series of coins.

cabæus was defeated and slain in his reign. The coins of Antiochus *Eupator* are similar to those of his predecessor, but those of Demetrius I. are worth describing:—The tetradrachm and most of the small pieces have a finely-executed portrait; while on the reverse of the tetradrachms, is a very remarkable female figure seated in a chair, supported on a winged triton; she supports a cornucopiæ against her left arm, and with the right hand extended holds an arrow; the inscription is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΕΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ, sometimes with the addition of Saviour (ΣΩΤΕΡΟΣ), &c. &c. The small copper has sometimes a portrait-head with a radiated crown, and the reverse, a simple cornucopiæ without a figure, but with the fullest inscription.

Alexander *Bala* declaring himself of the royal family of Syria, but supposed to be an imposter, defeated Demetrius, who was slain in the flight, about 150 B. C. He was himself soon displaced. The coins of the *Seleucidæ*, as I have stated, are nearly all of silver; but one *gold* coin (*unique*) of Alexander Bala, has been discovered by M. Le Normand, and now forms part of the great French collection. There is a fine large copper, with two heads, most likely Alexander and his wife Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy *Philometor*, King of Egypt—she appears as the goddess Isis—the reverse has the old Alexandrian type of the sitting Jupiter, and the inscription stands, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (of the King Alexander, the son of a father-god, the beneficent). A fine silver didrachm with a portrait, has the eagle and thunderbolt for reverse, in token no doubt of his alliance with Egypt, that being the symbol of the Ptolemies. There are many other types of small copper.

Demetrius II. (*Nicanor*), was now placed upon the throne by the King of Egypt, and was dethroned by Antiochus IV. There is a fine portrait on his coins, with a sitting Apollo on the reverse; on the obverse of a coin attributed to Demetrius II. we have the *fortune of the king* represented (η τον Βασιλεως τυχη), a personification receiving divine honours among the Syrians; she takes the hand of the king who is seated on a throne.

Antiochus VI., Dionysius Epiphanes, son of the usurper Bala, and afterwards Triphon another pretender, reigned from 145 to 138 B. C.; the most remarkable coins of this period have all the portrait head, very finely executed, with the radiated crown. A magnificent tetradrachm has the Dicoscuri on the reverse, with the inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ, (of the king Antiochus Epiphanes Dionysius).

Antiochus VII., Sidetes (the hunter), a son of Demetrius Soter, succeeded him, and reigned till 131 B. C. being killed in an unsuccessful battle with the Parthians. The most remarkable tetradrachms, have the head of Jupiter on obverse, and the sitting Jupiter on reverse, with the usual inscription; others, with the portrait on the obverse, have a standing figure of Minerva on the reverse.

Demetrius Nicanor was now restored, 131 B. C., but after a short and disgraceful reign he was again driven from the throne, about 130 B. C., and eventually put to death at Tyre, about 126 B. C.

The most remarkable coin of Demetrius II. after his restoration is a fine tetradrachm with his portrait, and on the reverse a figure of Astarte or Diana Cœlestis, and the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΕΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ.

Diodotus or Triphon reigned for a short time about this period, and in com-

memoration of victories over some of the mountain tribes of Western Asia, some of the reverses of his coins have a helmet with the Ibex horn, a symbol, and part of the costume of this mountain people. A fine tetradrachm of the same type has a much more richly ornamented helmet of the same description.

The usurper, Alexander Zebina, now ascended the throne (129 B. C.), and was succeeded in part of Syria by Seleucus V.; coins attributed by Gough to this personage, have a portrait crowned with rays, and the standing figure of Minerva on the reverse. One fine tetradrachm has a fillet instead of a crown.

Seleucus V. next ascended the throne of Syria; he was stabbed by his own mother Cleopatra, about 124 B. C., by whose intrigues the youngest son of Demetrius Nicanor, Antiochus VIII. (Grypus), was raised to the throne, to the prejudice of his elder brothers, with one of whom, Antiochus of Cyzicus, he eventually divided the kingdom. Antiochus was assassinated by a private enemy 97 B. C. There are fine tetradrachms, with the portraits of this king and his mother Cleopatra, one profile over the other, they are well executed and remarkable coins; subsequently his coins have his own head only.

There is a pretty coin of Cleopatra Selene, the wife of Antiochus VIII., and afterwards of Antiochus X.

Antiochus IX. (Cyzicenus) 114 B. C. There are fine portrait coins of this reign, with the figure of Minerva on the reverse; his later portraits are bearded.

Seleucus VI., son of *Grypus*, reigned till 97 B. C. His tetradrachms are like those of his predecessor, and the reverses bear the same type.

Antiochus X., XI., and Philippus, reigned to about 93 B. C. There are tolerably handsome coins, but of very inferior art, of all these personages; they have portraits on the obverse, and generally the sitting Jupiter, the well-known type of Alexander the Great, for the reverse.

The coins of Tigranes, King of Armenia, who conquered great part of the dominions of the Seleucidæ, about 84 B. C., are remarkable, both as examples of

costume and execution; the woodcut will convey a good idea of them. The reverse has the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥΣ, and a female figure with turretted crown,

Nos. 1 and 2.—The obverse and reverse of a gold pentadrachm of Ptolemy Soter, the first Greek sovereign of Egypt, who reigned from the year 324 to 285 B. C. The obverse, No. 1, has his portrait, one of the first positive regal portraits that ancient coins exhibit. The reverse, No. 2, has the finely-designed eagle, standing on a thunderbolt, which became a sort of heraldic badge of the Ptolemies. The inscription is ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (PTOLEMAIOU BASILEŌS) of the king Ptolemy (see page 67).

No. 3.—The obverse of a gold octodrachm, issued during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (the son and successor of Soter), who reigned from the year 285 to 246 B. C. It bears the portrait of his wife and sister Arsinoë. The K is supposed to be the initial letter of the Greek name of the island of Cyprus, where it is conjectured the coin was struck. The reverse of this coin has a cornucopiæ for type, which is very general on the coins of the Greek Queens of Egypt (see page 68).

Nos. 4 and 5.—The obverse and reverse of a tetradrachm (four-drachm piece), of Antiochus III., surnamed the Great, King of Syria, who reigned from 223 to 187 B. C. The obverse has a fine portrait of the king in very high relief, and the reverse is a fine figure of Apollo, sitting on the *cortina*, with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (*BASILEŌS* ANTIOCHOU), "of the King Antiochus" (see page 74).

No. 6.—The obverse of a coin of base silver, of uncertain value and denomination, of Arsaces Phraates IV., King of Parthia, who reigned from the year 37 *to* the year 4 B. C. For description of the reverses and inscriptions of coins of this series, (see page 86).

Nos. 7 and 8.—The obverse and reverse of a coin of Sapor, King of Persia, who began to reign in the year 238 A.D., and who conquered and took prisoner the Roman Emperor Valerianus. The inscription round the head of Sapor, in the Persian character of the period, may be translated "The adorer of Ormuzd, the excellent Sapor, King of the Kings of Irun, Celestial germ of the Gods." The reverse, No. 8, represents the flaming altar of the fire-worship, re-established by the new dynasty (see pages 91 and 92).

No. 9.—The reverse of a beautiful gold coin of Clazomene, of the finest period of Grecian art. This beautiful coin is in the British Museum, and was valued by Mionnet at 400 francs, but would now very probably sell for three times that sum.

No. 10.—A beautiful reverse of a coin of Larissa, of uncertain value and denomination.

No. 11.—A didrachm of Corinth, with the national type, Pegasus, found also on the coins of Syracuse, at the time of Timoleon, illustrative of the Corinthian alliance. The horse is not so fine on the Sicilian coins, but the head of Minerva on the obverse much finer (see page 50).

No. 12.—An early silver coin of Athens—the owl, the symbol of Minerva, is nearly always the principal type of the reverse of the coins of this celebrated city. At first it was used on the obverse, but eventually the head of Minerva superseded it in that situation. Plutarch relates an anecdote of an Athenian miser, "the roof of whose house was said to be so dilapidated that it formed a roosting place for *owls*," alluding to Athenian coins concealed there.

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seated on a rock holding a palm branch, and treading with one foot on a river deity, perhaps the Euphrates.*

The coins of Antiochus XII., who, about 69 B. C., restored the line of the Seleucidæ in part of the ancient dominions, are not worthy of especial notice.

Tigranes was conquered by Mark Anthony, about 66 B. C., who, to commemorate his triumph, placed the singular crown of Tigranes on the reverse of some of the coins struck by him at that period. After the subjugation of Tigranes, and the temporary sway of Antiochus Asiaticus, who recovered a small portion of the Syrian empire, the whole country became, about 63 B. C., a Roman province. The last of the Seleucidan race was the brother of the last-named prince, Seleucus, married to Berenice, daughter of one of the last Ptolemies. He was put to death by his wife.

The eastern custom of adding a high sounding title to the name, such as "The Saviour (*Soter*), the victorious" (*Nicanor*), the towntaker (*Polyorcæte*), &c. &c., was first adopted among the Greeks by the generals of Alexander, who were the first to introduce such titles on coins. The custom, also, of placing the portrait of the prince on his coins, which had not even been ventured upon by Alexander, except in the disguise of Hercules,† was at once boldly adopted by his generals, who, like those of Napoleon in later times, assumed greater state than their master.

Among the successors of those who, detaching themselves from the supremacy of the Seleucidæ, founded kingdoms in the far east, still higher sounding titles were assumed, such as "Saviour of Kings, "Great King of Kings," &c. The coins of these dynasties, though inferior in art, are scarcely less interesting, in an historical point of view, than those of the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ—and will, therefore, form the subject of the next chapter.

* The coin from which this drawing is taken, is one of those recently stolen from the British Museum by Timoleo Veasto.

† If indeed the heads of Hercules be portraits of Alexander, which, notwithstanding the assertion of Visconti and others, is yet doubtful (see pages 59 and 60).

CHAPTER X.

COINS OF THE GRECO-BACTRIAN PRINCES, AND THEIR INDIAN SUCCESSORS.

PORTIONS of the most eastern districts of the empire, established by Seleucus Nicanor, and his immediate successors, appear to have soon asserted their independence of the central seat of government; placed, perhaps, too far west to preserve permanent control over these distant provinces. Of the Greek princes, who there established separate governments, ancient history is nearly silent; the struggles for supremacy among the princes of Western Asia, and the great drama of the rising power of Rome, which was enacting in Europe, apparently absorbed the entire attention of cotemporary writers, and it is principally to facts, revealed through the medium of recently discovered coins, that we are indebted to the recovery of this lost history.

For the knowledge of this series of coins, the latest numismatic novelty of importance, we are indebted to the modern occupation of India by Europeans. Alexander approached the countries of Kabool and the Punjaub from the north-west, but in consequence of the wonderful development of naval science in modern times, we have been enabled, by circumnavigating the globe, to approach the same countries from the south. Sir Alexander Burnes, after his mission to Kabool, was one of the first to call attention to the traces still remaining there of the mighty conquests of Alexander. Wonderful was the individual genius, and wonderful the untiring courage of that small but dauntless band of Greeks, who were led from the far-western Macedonia, across the whole breadth of Asia; not only conquering, but subduing and colonizing as they went. But still more wonderful, perhaps, is the progress of a people, who, from the still more distant, and in the time of Alexander, unknown isle of Britain, now at the present limit of their conquests, stand upon the boundary of those of Alexander. But space does not allow me to stray from my main point, that of the recently discovered coins, which illustrate the Greco-Indian history of these districts, and have brought to light the names of Greek princes ruling over portions, and sometimes perhaps the whole, of Bactria, including Kabool and the Punjaub. Professor Lassen, and Mr. H. T. Prinsep, have given the best historical account of these coins; Professor Wilson and others having confined themselves more in their excellent works to numismatic technicalities.

The earliest coins, of this newly discovered* series, are those of Theodotus, who revolted from the Seleucidæ about 256 B. C., assuming independent sovereignty in Bactria. They possess much of the Greek character, and strongly resemble some of the worst executed of the Seleucidan coins.

Theodotus II., who flourished about 240 B. C., is supposed to be the son of the

* Only two or three were known to the elder numismatists.

former, and to have held dominion over all the Hellenised countries east of Parthia. The few coins existing, do not enable us to distinguish between father and son.

Euthydemus appears about 220 B. C. His coins have "ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ" on the reverse, written on each side a sitting Hercules; on the obverse is a fine head, with a royal fillet, but no inscription.

Demetrius succeeded in the year 190 B. C. He was cotemporary with Antiochus the Great, and married to his daughter. His coins are more various than those of his predecessors; some having a head-dress, formed of the head portion of the skin of an elephant, with the tusks and trunk, in allusion, no doubt, to the extension of his dominions in the direction of India. Those coins of Alexander the Great, with the head in similar costume, being struck, it is thought, to commemorate his Indian conquests—an idea imitated by others, previous to Demetrius.

Eukratides reigned in the year 178 B. C., and appears to have ruled over more extensive dominions than any of his predecessors or successors. His coins are found plentifully in Bactria and Affghanistan; the most common have a helmeted head, without inscription, on the obverse; and on the reverse, the *dioscuri*, (Castor and Pollux). Some have ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. Some of the coins are square, with an Arian inscription above, and below the dioscuri, in which case the Greek inscription is placed round the head on the obverse, as shown in the woodcut;

one curious coin of his has two heads on the reverse, supposed by Prinsep to be his father and mother; but more probably his son and himself, notwithstanding some objections to that view, for Justin expressly states that the son was associated in the government. Similar coins also have been discovered of Heliocles, 155 B. C. Antimachus, 150 B. C., and Agathocles, all of Greek art, very similar, though perhaps inferior, to those of the Seleucidæ. But one of Agathocles is very fine. He is supposed to have been a ruler of Kaboolistan, conquered by Eukratides. Pantaleon is another prince, who possibly succeeded to a portion of the dominions of Eukratides, or perhaps a cotemporary prince of a neighbouring district. The coins of Eukratides are the only ones, up to about 150 B. C., with *bilingual* inscriptions.

Another race of Greek kings now appears, whose coins have *all* bilingual inscriptions, and we may thus, upon this series of Greco-Bactrian coins, trace gradually decreasing Hellenic influence; till, eventually, it became lost in the reasserted supremacy of Asiatic customs and language. The eastern custom of the sounding *titles*, "Saviour," "King of Kings," "Great King of Kings," seems now generally adopted. The coins of nine princes, using the title *Soter* (Saviour), occur with these bilingual inscriptions.

Menander, Apollodotus, Diomedes, Zoilus, Hippostratus, Strator, Dionysius,

Nicias, and Hermæus, who apparently occupy the period between 155 and 120 B. C. Several of them were, perhaps, cotemporary princes of separate districts; for the extensive dominions of Eukratides appear to have been broken up after his death. The art displayed on this series is very inferior to the preceding, though still possessing a Greek character. The titles, king, &c., are generally literally translated in the Arian inscription; that of king being written Maharajasa, the title still in use in the Punjaub.

Of about the same period there are several coins of kings, with the title ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ (victorious), and others of similar general character, such as those of Antimachus, Antialcides, Lycias, Philoxenus, and Amyntas.

Another class of coins bear *peaceful* titles, but they are not numerous; those of Heliocles for instance, and one of a queen, Agathocleia.

Hermæus, on some of whose coins the head of his wife Calliope appears, was, undoubtedly, the latest of these princes, and was probably the prince subdued by the conquering Scythian, Azes, about 120 B. C.

We next come to the coins of the Scythian conquerors themselves, who copied the coinage of the subdued Greek sovereigns. The first to be noticed are those of Maues, probably the cotemporary of Azes. We find him at first imitating the Greek titles—first, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ ΜΑΥΟΥ, simply—then, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ, (of the mighty King Maues); next, "in the full blaze of barbaric pride," says Mr. Prinsep, styling himself "Great King of Kings;" and lastly, issuing coins precisely similar to those of the Scythian Azes. The most remarkable of those of Azes represent the king holding a three-pronged spear, a national tartar weapon, and treading with one foot upon a prostrate foe. There are nine varieties

known of the coins of Maues, and an infinite number of Azes. Azes appears to have been the chief of the Asii, who finally subdued the Greco-Bactrian and Parthian power in Affghanistan.

Professor Lassen has discovered allusions to this event in the Chinese records, and it is not at variance, as shown by Professor Wilson, with certain passages in Justin and Strabo.

Azilises, his successor, 115 B. C., coined with similar titles, and then Mr. Prinsep places a series of coins of Parthian princes, whom he supposes to have been partially tributary to the Scythians, occupying a period between the years 90 and 60 B. C. Such are the coins of Vonones, Spalirius, and Spalypius, and also those of the nameless "Great Saviour" king. Another series of Scythian coins, with no Arian inscription, and the Greek scarcely decipherable, have the names Kodes and Hykrodes, and several others not yet made out.

There now occurs a hiatus in the series of coins of these countries, in consequence of the conquests of Vikramaditya, of whom no coins or inscriptions have been found.

The place of Vikramaditya and his successors, as principal sovereigns of India, appears to have been next occupied by a series of kings of the dynasty of Kadphises, who appear to have, for the first time in these regions, issued a *gold* coinage, about the epoch of Augustus; the dynasty occupying a period from about fifty years before, to fifty years after, the Christian era. The Arian legend, in the latter coins of the dynasty of Kadphises, have been deciphered and translated as "Of the Great Sovereign, King of Kings, everywhere seizing the earth; Dhima (or Vohima), Kadphises, the Saviour." In the original the inscription stands, "*Maharajasa Rajadhi Rajasa Sabatracha, ihacha Mahiharasa dhi Makadphishasa Nandata.*" These coins have nearly lost all Greek character, except the inscriptions; the letters of which are scarcely intelligible. The king is in a Tartar costume, holding a flower, and pointing to a pile of loaves; beside him is the trident, and on the other side a club.* The reverse shows that the Greek mythology, as a leading religion, had been displaced by the Budhist creed, for Siva and the Nandi Bull are not mistakeable. This change indeed took place with the coins of Azes and Maues, on whose coins similar symbols are found, as well as the Indian elephant, the Bactrian horse, &c. &c. The monogram seen above the club, is found on earlier coins of a more Grecian period. (See woodcut).

Korso, Koranos Zathos, and Kozoulo, found on the Kadphises coins, previous to the issue of the gold coinage, with its corresponding pieces of silver, seem to be titles short of royalty, for when Basileus occurs, after the gold coinage, Maharaja appears in the Arian *inscription*, but not otherwise.

Some Parthian princes appear to have held dominion in Affghanistan from about 40 to 80 A. D. Undophones, Gondophones, Abgasus, and Abalgasius, are the names occurring on a series of coins of that period, which are evidently Parthian. The name of Pakores also is found upon a coin discovered by Colonel Stacey, at Kandahar, but is not supposed to belong to the dynasty of Undophones.

At the end of the first century of our era, another Scythian race is found issuing coins of still another character. The great peculiarity of the coins of this race, that of Kanerkis, is, that the Arian inscription is abandoned, and the Greek alone preserved, but in characters so debased as to be scarcely intelligible; the previous monogram of four prongs is still found upon them, and the title "King of Kings," in Greek, "ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΩΝ," in the nominative case, and the king's name,

* The union, as it would appear, of the national war worship with that of the Greek Hercules.

KANHPKOT, in the genitive; and on the reverse, a Mithraic representation or personification of the sun or moon, with HAIOΣ, NANAIA, and sometimes other mystical names of these bodies, in Greek letters. But in the later specimens of this series of coins, the Greek title Basileus is abandoned, and we find the monarch styled by the purely Indian title, *Rano Nano Rao*, yet still written in Greek characters. On the coin figured below, that of a prince, who reigned as late as 200 A.D., the king is

represented riding on an elephant. The O of the last word, RAO, appears to be repeated, in order to fill up the space. A kind of nimbus, or glory, surrounds the head of the prince, and also that of the personification of the sun on the reverse, similar to that given by the early Christians to the saints, and also to Christ himself. These eastern customs became prevalent in Syria and Palestine during the extensive eastern dominion of the Seleucidæ, and it may even be possible that the term Soter, or Saviour, applied to great kings in the east, and also in Egypt, under the Ptolemies, may also, as some have before suggested, have been borrowed by the Apostles and early Christians.

The coins of this region now became more and more Asiatic in character, until all traces, even of Greek letters, is lost; and thenceforth they no longer belong to the subjects treated of in the present volume.

Among the many valuable results likely to accrue from the study of this series of coins, is the possible deciphering of many of the rock inscriptions, and other records, in which the early history of India still lies concealed. The earlier of the bilingual inscriptions on the coins are a dialect of Sanscrit, the latter in the Arian language.

Many of these valuable relics have been discovered on opening the vast *topes*, or dome-topped tombs—the first by M. Court, and then the great one near Lahore, by General Allard; in the latter a small gold box was found, enclosed in a silver vase, which was again enclosed within a copper one. They appear to have contained the heart, or some unconsumed portion, of the tenant of the tomb. These interesting archæological curiosities, have been described by Prinsep and others.

CHAPTER XI.

THE COINS OF THE ARSACIDÆ—KINGS OF PARTHIA.

WE have seen that the eastern empire of Alexander, that is the Asiatic portion, fell eventually to the share of Seleucas Nicanor, and his descendants. But even in the first reign of the Seleucian dynasty, a portion of the Punjaub was, after a short war, given up to a native prince, Chundra Goopta (the Sandracottus of classical history), who had succeeded in driving out the Grecian garrisons; and in the reign of Antiochus Theos, the third of the Seleucian dynasty, Theodotus is found exercising independent power in Bactria, about 255 B.C.; while five years later, Agathocles, the local governor of Parthia, having insulted a noble youth named Tiridates,* his brother, Arsaces, resented it by rebellion, slew Agathocles, seized the government, and the revolt being neglected, he established a permanent independence, which he continued to strengthen, till in 241 B.C. he added Hircania to his Parthian dominions.

There is a fine copper medal of the town of Amastris, which has been thought to commemorate the establishment of Parthian independence. It has a figure in a Phrygian cap, holding a head in one hand and a sword in the other, over a trunk which he has decapitated; on the other side, a beautiful youthful head in a helmet. Pellerin considers it Tiridates, the brother of Arsaces, cutting off the head of Pherecles, surnamed Agathocles, governor of Parthia under Antiochus II. It is so fine as a work of art, that it can hardly belong to the Arsacidan series; or was executed by Greek artists of some more western district.

Moses, of Chorene, the historian of Armenia, who lived in the fifth century of our era, states that Arsaces was a native of Bulkh, and adds that that the dynasty were called Balhavenses, or Pahlaveean, from the circumstance that Bulkh was added to Parthia, and made the seat of government by the son of Arsaces—meaning Mithridates, the great-grandson. Bactria and Media eventually formed part of this newly-founded empire, which extended, during a portion of its continuance, over Affghanistan, the Punjaub, and other portions of India. But the governing spirit remained exclusively Greek, and Greek art and Greek legends were employed exclusively on the coins of this race of kings, which endured for upwards of 500 years; being extinguished by a similar rebellion to that which had founded it, about the year A.D. 235, in the reign of the Roman Emperor Caracalla, the son of Septimus Severus.

The following is the chronological order in which the Arsacidan dynasty has been most recently placed:—

About the year 254 to 250 B.C., Arsaces I. established the monarchy. The

* For many facts and views concerning the Parthian dynasty, I am indebted to Mr. Prinsep's work "Historical results deducible from recent Discoveries in Affghanistan," now the province of which Mushud is the capital

Syrian monarch, Seleucus Callinicus, the successor of Antiochus Theos, made an effort to regain the Parthian territory in 236 B.C., but was eventually defeated and taken prisoner by Arsaces, who appears to have reigned till about 220 B.C. There is some difficulty in assigning the early coins of this dynasty to the proper princes, as they have seldom any name but the dynastic one, Arsaces. Those, however, without the titles, "King of Kings," &c., are considered the earliest; and the following is unhesitatingly given to Arsaces I.—It is a coin bearing a helmeted head of a young man, without inscription on the obverse; the helmet somewhat resembles that found on the coins of Tigranes:* On the reverse is what appears to be a restoration of the old Persian symbol of the archer, found on the Darics,† as no doubt the revolution had been of a national character, and the restoration of the emblems of the ancient Persian empire was a popular device. Visconti considers it to be a figure of Apollo holding one of his usual emblems, the bow, and considers the design copied from a somewhat similar Seleucidan coin. Even if this is the case, it would appear that the device was purposely made to resemble that of the ancient Persian archer. The inscription is "Of Arsaces the King," in the genitive case (ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ). A precisely similar coin, but with the inscription "Of Arsaces, conqueror of Kings" (ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ), is also considered to be of this king, after his victory over Seleucus Callinicus.

Arsaces II. reigned from about the year 220 to 196 B.C. He was at war with Antiochus the Great, who, but for his Roman war, might at this early period of its existence, have extinguished the young Parthian monarchy.

Arsaces Phriapatius reigned from 196 to 181 B.C. He left three sons, who all reigned.

In the reign of Arsaces Phraates I., from 181 to 177 B.C., the Mardi were reduced.

Arsaces Mithridates I.‡ occupied the throne from 177 to 139 B.C. He subdued all Media and Persia, and captured Babylon. Demetrius Nicanor invaded Parthia in his reign, but was made prisoner by treachery (simulatiône pacis).‖ Mithridates also obtained possession of great part of the territory in India that Eukratides, one of the Greco-Bactrian princes, had ruled over.

Arsaces Mithridates I. extended his empire so much that he felt authorised to assume the ancient Persian crown,§ or tiara, found upon his coins, and on those of three of his successors. It was afterwards assumed by Artaxerxes, the subverter of the Arsacidan dynasty, and more complete restorer of the ancient Persian monarchy. The term, "Great King," had been assumed by his predecessors, but he assumed that of "King of Kings," with other high titles.

Arsaces Phraates II., son of Mithridates, reigned from 139 to 126 B.C. Holding possession of a great empire left by his predecessor, and conceiving the idea of adding Syria and Asia Minor to his dominions, and rendering himself popular with the Hellenic portion of these countries, he assumed the title of

* See page 76. † See page 28.

‡ Sometimes these princes are classed by numbers, as Arsaces I., V., XIII., &c.; but as the numbers do not always agree with the surnames, I thought it best to adopt the latter only, in this elementary work.

‖ Justin.

§ See page 91, in the chapter on the coins of the Sassanidæ.

Philhellenos* (ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ), "friend of the Greeks," or "lover of the Greeks;" a title often found on subsequent coins of the Arsacidæ. Some of his coins have the epithet Theopater, or son of a father god, in allusion to the great conquests and assumed titles of his father. Antiochus Sidetes invaded Parthia in this reign, and the Greeks of Bactria aided him; but Phraates obtaining Scythian aid, defeated him. These Scythian allies, however, became in their turn troublesome, and there is reason to believe, obtained possession of nearly the whole of Bactria. Some of the coins of Phraates II. have a row of small stags forming a semicircle round the tiara, in allusion, as Visconti conjectures, to the swiftness of the Parthian cavalry, to which they owed many of their great successes. When Phraates II. discontinued the term Philopater, which, after the Greek fashion of the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ, generally signified association in the government with the father, he assumed that of Theopater—hence the last may be considered to have been struck immediately after the death of the father.

Arsaces Artabanes, uncle of Phraates and son of Phriapatius, who reigned from 126 to 115 B.C., was killed in an engagement with the Scythians.

Arsaces Mithridates II. reigned from 115 to 85 B.C. In his reign, the Scythian King Azes, styling himself "Great King of Kings," conquered Affghanistan and the Punjaub, and reigned in Bulkh. In the time of this king a letter was addressed to Rome to the dictator Sylla.

B.C. 85 to 77, an interregnum occurred, in which Mnaskires and Phraates were rivals for the throne. On a coin of a Phraates the inscription *Συνηγορος Ζαραστρεως* (the defender of Zoroaster) appears; from which it would seem that he courted popularity by pretending to favour the ancient religion of the country, which had been displaced by the Polytheism of the Greeks.

Arsaces Senatrux or Sanatroikes, as written on his coins, reigned from 77 to 67 B.C.

Arsaces Phraates III., son of Senatrux, reigned from 67 to 55 B.C. and was the ally of Pompey during his wars in Asia. His coins are poor, but have magnificent inscriptions, such as—

Of the King of Kings.	Arsaces.	Great.†	Just.	Beneficent.	God.
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ.	ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ.	ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ.	ΑΙΚΑΙΟΥ.	ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ	ΘΕΟΥ.

Of illustrious birth.	Lover of the Greeks.
ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ.	ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ.

Arsaces Orodes reigned from 55 to 37 B.C., and occupied the Parthian throne at the time of the disastrous expedition of Crassus; he was slain by his son Phraates. The coins of Arsaces Orodes are much finer than those of his predecessors; those best known being supposed to have been coined at Antioch during his temporary domination in Syria, great part of which he conquered. His coins have, in consequence, a stronger resemblance to those of the Seleucidæ than is usual in this series. His great victory over the Roman general Crassus, when the Roman standards were taken, is supposed, by some numismatists, to be commemorated on some of his coins by the *eagle* embroidered on the dress, as shown in the accompanying woodcut. These standards were, in less prosperous times, in the reign of his successor, returned to Augustus. Dates now begin to appear on this series of coins—on those

* Alexander I. of Macedon, time of Xerxes, had previously assumed that title.—Dion Chrysoslome, Oral. II. de regno.

† Or very strong—or magnificent.

of Orodes ΣΟΖ (276) occurs, which is considered to be of the Seleucidan era, equivalent to the year of Rome 717 and 718.

Arsaces Phraates IV. reigned from 37 to 4 B.C. In this reign Seleucia, on the Tigris, was the capital of the Parthian monarchy ; probably since the occupation of Bulkh by the Scythians in the year 85. Anthony invaded Parthia in this reign, but was compelled to abandon the enterprise. A treaty of peace being concluded, Phraates married the Italian maid, Thermusa, presented to him by Anthony. This queen, whose name, Thermusa, is recorded on his coins, obtained great influence over him, and caused him to send his four sons as hostages to Rome, in order that her own son might reign, by whom, eventually, Phraates was poisoned —but the parricide was not allowed to reign. One of these coins is in the collection at the British Museum, but the inscription is not all on the coin : it should read— ΘΕΑΣ ΟΥΡ [ΑΝΙΑΣ ΘΕΡ] ΜΟΥΣ ΗΣ ΒΑΣ [ΙΛΙΕΣΕΣ] " of The heavenly goddess, Queen Thermusa," the inscription written with square sigma's ; the portions in brackets are not on the museum coin ; her portrait has prominent Roman features. The head of her husband occupies the observe of these small coins.

The Greek character of art which had been preserved on some of the first of the Parthian series, and strongly renovated in the coins of Orodes, now sunk into the barbaric stiffness which distinguishes most of the remaining coins of this long series in style. Most of these coins have bearded portraits, wearing a royal fillet above three or four stiff rows of curls, and a Persian robe. On the reverse is a figure, evidently a king, in similar dress, seated on a throne, and a figure of Victory, sometimes like the Greek Minerva, and sometimes with a head-dress like that of Arsaces I., presenting a wreath of laurel to the king, with the usual inscription of the later Parthian monarchs, " King of Kings," &c. The coin engraved below is also

inscribed with the Macedonian month, *Gorpiæus*. It will convey a sufficient idea

of the stiff style in which they were executed. On Plate 5, No. 6, is an impression of the obverse of a coin of Phraates IV.

Arsaces Orodes II. reigned from the year 4 B.C. to 14 A.D., and carried on a war with his parricide brother, but was eventually put to death for his own cruelties.

Arsaces Vonones, one of the sons of Phraates IV., was now brought from Rome to ascend the Parthian throne, during the reign of Tiberius, and reigned from 14 to 18 A. D. An undoubted coin of this prince exists,* having on the obverse the head of Vonones, with the simple inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΝΩΝΗC, in the nominative case, in the Roman manner, and on the reverse a Victory, with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, ΟΝΩΝΗΣ ΝΕΙΚΗCΑC, ΑΡΤΑΒΑΝΟΝ.

About 18 to 41 A. D., Arsaces Artabanes, said to be one of the Arsacidan family by the mother's side, eventually prevailed against Vonones, but he was afterwards dethroned for a time by Phraates, another son of Phraates IV., sent by Tiberius for that purpose.

Arsaces Bardanes, son of Artabanes, reigned from 41 to 47 A. D. His Indian dominions extended as far as Soghdiana.

Arsaces Golzares (Persian Godurz) occupied the throne till the year 49 A. D. In his reign the Emperor Claudius supported, without effect, a son of Vonones I.

Arsaces Vonones II. reigned from 49 to 52 A. D. The coins with ΟΝΩΝΟΥ, found in Affghanistan, with the title of "King of Kings," in Arian characters, on the reverse, are supposed to be of this king.

Arsaces Vologeses reigned from 52 to 85 A. D. He maintained a war with the Romans, and is supposed by Professor Lassen to have recovered Kabool and Candahar from the Kadphises † race of kings, some coins found in Kabool being supposed to be his. Vologeses, in addressing the Emperor Vespasian, assumed the title of "King of Kings," while Vespasian, in reply, simply styled himself, "Vespasian, to Arsaces, King of Kings."

Arsaces Artabanes reigned from 85 to 99 A. D. A full face upon a coin of Artabanes III. is boldly executed. It has an unusual reverse—a Parthian king on horseback, apparently receiving the submission of a town personified; and in addition to the other inscriptions of usual style, it has the year ΤΑΗ (338 of the Seleucidæ).‡

From 99 to 115 A. D. Arsaces Pakores, reigned in Parthia, and is supposed to be the king mentioned as the ally of Decebalus, King of the Daci, and friend of the Romans. The coins with an Arian legend and the name of Pakores, are supposed to be of this king.

Arsaces Khosroes occupied the throne from 115 to 160 A D. Trajan conquered this Parthian prince, and set up another sovereign in Seleucia, called by the Romans Parthanaspatis. But on Trajan's death Khosroes recovered great part of the conquered districts, and Hadrian made peace with him. Trajan marked his successes over the Parthian power by carrying away the golden throne of the Arsacidæ to decorate his Roman triumph.

* In the collection of the India House.

† Mentioned in notice of Greco-Indian coins (see page 81).

‡ It is to be regretted that in the fine work of Visconti, "Iconographie Greque," he seldom tells us where the medals are, which he figures. It is well known most of them are in the French collection, but not all, especially the most interesting, namely, some of the rare ones.

Arsaces Vologeses, son of Khosroes, reigned from 160 to 195 A.D. He was cotemporary with the Roman Emperors Hadrian, Antoninus, Lucius Verus, and Aurelius; and in a war with Rome Seleucia and Babylon were taken. But after the death of Verus, Aurelius granted a peace. Vologeses in vain negociated for the return of the antique throne of his predecessors, captured by Trajan, though its return had been promised by Hadrian. His coins begin to show the coarseness of barbaric art, both in the style of the costume and the treatment of the figures; and since the destructive victories of the Romans, the Parthian coins are so much alloyed that they can hardly be considered silver.

Arsaces Vologeses III. was the son of Senatrux, brother of the last king. He reigned from 195 to 215 A. D. Vologeses III. again dared the Roman power without success, and the Armenian, Median, and Parthian triumphs of Marcus Aurelius are the great military glories of the line of the Antonines. The coins of Vologeses III have a head, with a singular appendage folded down at the back. Since Orodes, it becomes more easy to assign the coins to each prince with certainty, as the surnames, now constantly appearing on the coins, are well known.

Vologeses IV. must have occupied the Parthian throne about this time, as in his reign Ctesiphon was again taken by Septimus Severus, the third time within a century that that capital had been pillaged, while Seleucia had been burnt by Lucius Verus. Both these Parthian capitals have been termed by ancient oriental writers Al-Madain, the *towns* par excellence. The portrait of Vologeses IV. on his coins is crowned with a banded tiara, above which band the crown of the tiara appears to be formed of pearls, and a large circular ornament of pearls covers the ear.

Arsaces Artabanes, sometimes called Vologeses V., reigned from 215 to 235 A. D., and was the last of the Arsacidæ. He became involved in a war with Caracalla, who, under pretence of soliciting his daughter in marriage, attempted to destroy him treacherously at a conference. Many Parthian nobles were sacrificed, but Artabanes escaped, and maintained a successful war against the Romans till the death of Caracalla, when he made peace with the Emperor Macrinus. But in the mean time, neglecting the eminent services of a distinguished officer, Ardeshur Babakar, or Artaxerxes, that leader revolted; the insurrection became successful, and the dynasty of Arsaces terminated with the Parthian monarchy; which was succeeded by a new Persian empire, established by Artaxerxes, who was crowned at Bulkh, the scene of his last victory, A. D. 235; thus founding the Sassanian dynasty of Persia. The coins of Vologeses V. are very barbarous in execution, and equally worthless in quality of metal. He still reigned for a short time over a portion of the empire cotemporaneously with Artaxerxes, as appears by the date of his coins written in the Greek characters still used; but the period of transition was fast approaching, and some occur with a Pelhvic inscription. One engraved by Visconti, is exactly similar to the coins of Artaxerxes, and as well executed, probably done in some part of the empire where the arts had not suffered such a shock as in the capital. It might certainly be taken for a coin of Artaxerxes, having even the fire altar on the reverse (a last attempt, perhaps, to ally himself with the rising feeling), but for the name of *Balaga*, or Vologeses, which occurs in the Pelhvic characters deciphered by Sylvestre de Sacey.

Visconti remarks that the Arsacidan series of coins is one of the most extensive

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 6.

COINS OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

No. 1.—A sextans, or sixth of the large Roman copper coin, called the ÆS or AS, of twelve ounces of copper. At its original weight the sextans weighed two ounces, denoted by the two dots, but the present coin was struck at a period when these coins were much reduced in weight, about 50 B. C. The full AS, or ÆS, engraved at page 131, weighs nine ounces and a half, and was issued about 387 B. C. The reverse of these uncial coins of the Roman republic was always the prow of a vessel, (Rostrum Navis), (see pages 132 and 187).

No. 2.—The reverse of a sextans of another period, showing the type of the prow of a ship (see pages 132 and 187).

No. 3.—The reverse of one of the earliest silver coins of the Romans, a tridrachm, supposed to have been coined for them by the Greek artists of Capua, soon after the partial subjection of Campania, about 317 B. C. The obverse of this coin is a finely-executed head, similar to the gold coin No. 5 (see pages 137 and 190).

No. 4.—The obverse and reverse of the first gold money of the Romans, called the scrupular coinage. The obverse has the head of Mars, finely executed, accompanied by numerals denoting its value, sixty sestertii, and the reverse a well-designed eagle, with the word ROMA, coined about 207 B. C. (see pages 140 and 192).

Nos. 5 and 6.—The obverse and reverse of a beautiful gold coin, apparently executed for the Romans by Campanian artists. The obverse is possibly the youthful and beardless Jupiter, worshipped at Anxur, the modern Terracina, or Janus in a youthful form, though the laurel-wreath would seem to denote Apollo. The reverse represents an alliance, performed after the ancient Italic form over a swine, beneath which is ROMA. This coin is of about the same date as the previous one (see pages 140, 141, and 192).

No. 7.—A silver coin of the social war. The Bull symbolizes Italy overcoming Rome under the figure of the Wolf. The social war broke out 91 B. C. (see pages 138 and 140).

No. 8.—The reverse of a denarius of the consular, or family series, (see page 190), of the Titurian family, representing the well-known story of the maid Tarpeia, crushed beneath the shields of the soldiers to whom she had betrayed the Capitol. The reward she engaged for was, "that which they wore upon their arms," meaning their bracelets, but disgusted with her treachery, though profiting by it, they chose to understand, their shields (see page 143). The Roman coins, termed family coins, belong to a period between 100 B. C. and 50 A. D. (see pages 143, 144, 145 and 149).

No. 9.—The reverse of one of the earliest family denarii, representing the dioscuri watering their horses by moonlight at the fountain, after the battle at the lake Regillus (see pages 143, &c.&c.)

No. 10.—An aureus (see pages 140 and 192) of the family series, representing Caius Numonius Valla, forcing, single-handed, an enemy's camp (see page 146).

Nos. 11 and 12.—The obverse and reverse of a coin of Julius Cæsar (assassinated in the year 44 B. C.) The obverse has the portrait of Cæsar, the first portrait placed upon the Roman coinage by consent of the Senate, with the inscription DICTATOR PERPETVO (perpetual dictator); on the reverse are emblems of peace, denoting the termination of the war with Pompey, and his reconciliation with the Senate. These emblems consist of the Caduceus of Mercury—a globe, denoting the pacification to be universal; clasped hands, an emblem of friendship or reconciliation still in common use; a sacrificial instrument; and across the Caduceus, one of the fasces or rods in which the lictors carried an ax, but which when untied, and without the ax, are considered emblematic of peace. The inscription L. BVCA is the name of the moneyer or monetary triumvir of Cæsar (see page 144, 146, and 149).

BY BARCLAY'S PROCESS, 21 GERRARD STREET, LONDON.

that remains to us, and that it has thrown much light on obscure points of the history of Central Asia. But he does not add, like an English numismatist, in a recent work, that it is a *fine* series—which, in point of art, it certainly is not; and indeed, in comparison with the cotemporary art of the more western portions of Asia, it is contemptible. The coins have, ordinarily, the sovereign's head, without any inscription, on the obverse, rigidly designed—generally with three stiff rows of curls at the side of the head, and a pointed beard. On the reverse a sitting figure, with a bow, and the inscription, always Greek,* on four sides, forming a square (see woodcut at page 86). This inscription has seldom any but the family name of Arsaces, with the title, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, or ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, accompanied by various epithets, such as ΜΕΓΑΣ, ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ, ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΣ, ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ, ΖΗΝΙΟΣ or ΞΕΙΝΟΣ, ΘΕΟΣ, ΝΙΚΑΤΩΡ, ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ, ΘΕΟΠΑΤΕΡ, all pure Greek, and generally in the genitive case. It is not easy to classify the Arsacidan coins, and assign them to the known sovereigns of Parthia, as the name of Arsaces occurs on all, and history gives but imperfect information as to which bore the particular surnames by which they might be distinguished. The coins themselves have proved the best aids in settling the chronological order of the princes. The guide appears to be, according to Mr. Prinsep, that Basileus, or simple titles, belong to the earliest princes, while "Great King of Kings," there is some reason to believe, was an extreme Asiatic style, not adopted till Mithridates II., who assumed it after the conquest of a portion of India. The finest known collection of Arsacidan coins is that of the India House, presented by Sir H. Willock. The Arsacidan princes coined both silver and copper, but never gold.

The coins of the dynasty which superseded the Arsacidæ in Central Asia, will form the subject of the next chapter.

* Except in the coins supposed to be Parthian, struck in India, when the inscriptions on the obverse are in the Arian language, the Greek always maintains the place of honour on the obverse, whenever there are bilingual inscriptions.

CHAPTER XII.

COINS OF THE SASSANIDÆ—THE PRINCES WHO ESTABLISHED THE SECOND PERSIAN EMPIRE ON THE RUINS OF THAT OF PARTHIA.

AS the Sassanian series of coins form a sort of continuation of those of the Arsacidæ, this appears the proper place to treat of them, though we shall subsequently have to retrace our steps some centuries, to conclude the description of other branches of the Greek coinage.

About the year 235 A. D., it was a religious war that re-established the Persian monarchy, under Artaxerxes, son of Babec, who was, or pretended to be, a descendant of Sassan, and sought to re-establish the ancient fire worship, which does not appear to have been utterly neglected by the Arsacidæ, for on a drachma of Phraates II. we find the title of "Defender of Zoroaster" assumed, (*Συνηγορος Ζαραστρεως*). Thus it would appear that, although the Polytheism of the Greeks had not disappeared with the establishment of the Arsacidæ, it is yet evident that Phraates sought popularity by defending the neglected Zoroaster; and it was in a war, having for its main object the entire extinction of the still prevalent Greek Polytheism, that Artaxerxes was triumphant, re-establishing the ancient religion of Persia.

Artaxerxes, or Ardschir Babeghan, a Persian officer of rank in the Parthian army of Artabanus, but possessing great talents, created for himself a sufficiently numerous body of partisans to attack his sovereign and put an end to the dynasty which had so long held sway over a great portion of Ancient Persia. After his first successes he declared himself a lineal descendant of the ancient royal family of Persia, and in a final and decisive battle, Artabanus, the last Parthian king, was slain, and a new empire and dynasty founded. This occurred in the reign of the Roman Emperor Caracalla, son of Septimus Severus, whose power the founder of the new Persian monarchy defied, threatening to drive the Romans out of Asia. He was, nevertheless, beaten by the Roman generals, and was not at that time permitted to encroach upon the Asiatic dominions of Rome.

He was succeeded by his son, Sapor I., who nearly conquered the whole of Asia, and took prisoner the Roman Emperor Valerian, whom he treated with the most savage barbarity, and would have permanently secured his conquests, but for the aid afforded to the Romans by the King of Palmyra. But the power of Sapor was not materially shaken by these defeats, and the new Persian empire endured to see the final fall of that of Western Rome, and existed till the year 632 of our era.

On the coins of the Sassanidæ, Greek inscriptions entirely disappear, and the Hellenic characters are replaced, at first, by letters resembling those of the Hebrews of the third century, but which become, at the beginning of the seventh century, identical with those found in Pehlvic MSS. But the characters vary in different provinces, and even on the coins of the same king. From a comparison of these coins

with the rock sculptures and other Persian monuments, first noticed by Kerr Porter, definite dates may no doubt be assigned with certainty both to the coins and the monuments. The weight of Sassanian gold coins was the same as that of the Roman aureus; of the silver, that of the Attic drachma. The cause of this appears at first difficult of explanation; but in the silver they followed the silver coinage which they found existing; while, as the Arsacidæ never coined gold, the Roman style was followed in the new coinage of that metal; the Roman influence having become predominate in the time of the Sassanidæ.

The first Sassanian medals are of finer work than the last Parthian, and denote, says M. Longperrier, a sort of renaissance, or flourishing period. On the coins of Artaxerxes, the first of the dynasty, the inscription, in the Persian character of the period, may be read thus—"Mazdiesn bèh Artahchetr malcan Airan," "The adorer of Ormuzd, the excellent Artaxerxes, King of the Kings of Persia." The reverse has the inscription, "Artahchetr iezda[n]i," "The divine Artaxerxes." The portrait on the obverse is sharply executed, and the flaming altar, accompanied by two cups of perfume on the reverse, denotes the restoration of the fire worship. The accompanying woodcut exhibits both sides of one of these interesting coins. It is to be observed that the portraits on most of the coins have the upper part of the head-

dress formed of the singular mass of what appears to be drapery, of a circular, or rather pear-shaped form, similar to that of the rock sculptures first described and engraved in the travels of Kerr Porter; which proves that the rock sculptures in question, and many of the later Persian ruins, belong to the period of the Sassanian dynasty.

M. Longperrier describes the circular mass of drapery as "un globe celeste," a supposition for which there appears some foundation, as in some cases it is spangled with stars. The earlier portraits of Artaxerxes are represented wearing the high and richly-embroidered cap shown in the above woodcut, which is no doubt the ancient crown of Persia. It had been previously assumed by some of the Arsacidæ. There are several varieties of inscriptions on his coins, but all of similar character.

Procopius has stated that, although the Persian kings placed their effigies on their silver coinage, they did not venture to assume that prerogative on the gold. But it is now plainly shown, by the discovery of several gold coins of the dynasty, that Procopius was mistaken; and indeed the *details* of historians of that period are frequently not to be depended upon; yet till lately, as no Sassanian gold had been found, the historian's statement was received as correct. The coin of Sapor I., described further on, is a gold coin.

Sapor I. ascended the newly-established Persian throne in the year 238 A. D.,

and his defeat and capture of the Roman Emperor Valerian, and the issue of a gold coinage, none of the Arsicadæ having coined gold, prove him to have been a prosperous and wealthy sovereign. On the coins of Sapor I., the ornamental head-dress appears evidently intended to represent a celestial globe, as M. Longperrier has suggested, the crescent, moon, and a star, being conspicuous upon it; the crescent also appears afterwards on the variously-shaped crowns of his successors, sometimes with, and sometimes without the *star*. On the reverses of Sapor's coins two figures guard the altar—they wear the loose trowsers and short frock still worn in many parts of the east. The inscription round the head of Sapor is, "The Adorer of Ormuzd, The Excellent Sapor, King of the Kings of Iran, Celestial Germ of the Gods." Some of his coins are found with the embroidered crown engraved separately, at Page 91., but after Varanes I., this cap or crown finally disappears.

Varanes II. who reigned from 279 to 294 A. D., is represented in very singular head-dresses, sometimes a winged crown supporting the ornament which I suppose may be a celestial globe. His queen appears also upon his coins, beneath his own profile; she wears a rich head-dress, surmounted by a boar's head; a third figure, seemingly that of a boy, in a cap terminating in an eagle's head, also appears on the face of this coin; probably Narses, the son of Varanes. See the impression of this curious coin on Plate 5. The reverse has the fire altar, guarded by standing figures, like the coins of Sapor. Visconti found a difficulty in allowing the second figure represented on this coin to be a queen, supposing that polygamy prevailed at that period in Persia; but the rock sculptures of the time frequently show the king accompanied by a queen; and this king, the cotemporary of the Roman Emperor Probus, who placed the portrait of his empress beside his own on some of his money, may have sought to imitate the Roman style. It is also admitted that previous to the overthrow of the Sassanian dynasty by the Mahomedans in the seventh century, women played a much more conspicuous part, than they have since done under the influence of islamism; as the reign of the daughters of Chosroes II. sufficiently attest. About this time the inscriptions on coins of the Sassanidæ describe the prince as not only "King of the Kings of Iran" (Persia), but also of "Touran," meaning all the earth.

Towards the sixth century of our era Sassanian art begins sensibly to decline; the relief and style gets poorer and poorer upon the coins of successive princes, with but little change in the character of the devices; but the coins of Chosroes II., who reigned about 622 A. D., and conquered great part of Asia Minor and part of Egypt, being eventually driven back by the Byzantine emperor, Heraclius, has a full face on his coins, of tolerable execution; the reverse still having the fire altar, its constant type. In the reign of the daughter of Chosroes II., Touran-Dokht, the execution of the coins reached the lowest depths of barbarism, and without the aid of comparison with former coins, neither the Persian head-dress, nor the fire altar with its attendant guards, could be at all distinguished; the inscription, however, is just legible, which leaves no doubt as to the right attribution of the coin. This princess returned to the Byzantine emperor the wood of the true cross, which her father had taken from Jerusalem. Her sister, Azermi-Dokht, succeeded her on the throne. It is of her that the romantic story is told of Ferakh, Governor of Khorassan, who could not conceal his love of the queen, and for his presumption was put to death, by her order.

A few years after this event, in the reign of Jedzegirdes III., the tide of Moslem conquest passed over Persia, which became a province of the vast empire of the Kaliphs, about the year 632 A. D.

For a knowledge of this interesting series of coins, we are principally indebted to the learning and research of the celebrated oriental scholar, Sylvestre de Sacy, whose able interpretations of the Pehlvic inscriptions, first enabled numismatists to class them with any degree of certainty.

The following is a chronological table of the Sassanian dynasty, as arranged by the authors of "*l'art de verifier les dates*":—

PERSIAN KINGS OF THE SASSANIAN DYNASTY.

A. D.	
235.	Artaxor, or Artaxerxes.
238.	Sapor I.
269.	Hormisdas.
272.	Varanes, or Bahram.
279.	Varanes II.
294.	Narses.
303.	Hormisdas II.
310.	Sapor II.
380.	Artaxerxes II.
384.	Sapor II.
389.	Varanes III.
399.	Jedzegirdes I.
420.	Varanes IV.
440.	Jedzegirdes II.
457.	Prozes.
488.	Balasces, or Obalas.
491.	Cavades, or Cobad.
531.	Chosroes the Great.
579.	Hormisdas III.
599.	Chosroes II.
628.	Siroes, (three months).
629.	Adheses, (seven months).
629.	Sarbazas, (two months).
630.	Touran-Dokht, (Queen).
—	Azermi-Dokht, (Queen).
—	Five short reigns.
632.	Jedzegirdes III., the last of the race.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE COINS OF SEVERAL GREEK DYNASTIES OF MINOR IMPORTANCE.

IN following out the series of coins commencing with those of the Seleucidæ, followed by the Parthian series, and terminating with those of the Sassanian race, we have been carried almost into what may be termed modern history. We must now, therefore, retrace our steps to describe some of the more remarkable coins of other dynasties founded on the dismemberment of the Macedonian empire, and of other cotemporary states. But having devoted so much space to the subject of the Seleucian and Lagian dynasties, whose coins form, perhaps, the two finest and most interesting series of ancient regal coins that are known, I must, necessarily, be very brief on the subject of coins of other princes, and can do little more than call the attention of the student to the other small series of regal coins about to be alluded to.

Of those of the Kings of Epirus a short notice is necessary on account of the prominence of the history of Pyrrhus. The Kings of Epirus (now Albania) claim descent from Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles and Deidamia, daughter of Lycomedes, King of Scyros. They called themselves Eacides, from the name of Eacus, the grandfather of Achilles, just as those races claiming descent from Hercules called themselves Heraclidæ. In a similar manner we have found the great captains of Alexander the Great giving their names to their posterity as the Seleucidæ and the Lagidæ.

Several other dynasties established about the period of the Seleucidæ appear to have also adopted a family name, which has been continued on the coins of the whole dynasty, as that of Ariarathes, on those of Cappadocia, and Pylæmenes, in Paphlagonia. Philetærus also occurs on the coins of the whole dynasty founded by the Eunuch Philetærus, whose nephew succeeded him as King of Pergamus.

The first Epirote king to whose reign a positive date is affixed by historians is Admetes, who governed greater part of that country about 480 B. C., and was known as reigning in Epirus during the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. He was succeeded by Amyntas, Alcetes, and Amyntas II., and it was to the last-named prince that Xenocrates, the Chalcedonian philosopher, dedicated four books which he composed, on "the art of governing." Amyntas II. was cotemporary with Philip II. of Macedon, and gave his niece, Olympias, in marriage to that prince, and she became the mother of Alexander the Great. The nephew of Amyntas, Alexander, who was brother to Olympias, became King of Epirus after the death of his uncle, and some have considered that he possessed talents equal to those of his more celebrated nephew and namesake, Alexander the Great. He was succeeded by Eacicles, a son

of Amyntas, and Eacicles was succeeded, first by his brother Alcetus, who usurped the throne, and eventually by his celebrated son, Pyrrhus II., about 295 B. C.

The adventurous conquests and reverses of Pyrrhus II., in Italy and Sicily, are alluded to in the chapter on the coins of those countries. The noble tetradrachm, with the head of the Dodonean Jupiter, and the reverse with a sitting Minerva, and with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ (Of the King Pyrrhus), appears from the types to have been struck in Epirus, though some have supposed that no fine money was struck by that semi-barbarous people.

Alexander, the son of Pyrrhus, reigned from 272 to 242 B. C., and has left some fine coins in imitation of those of Alexander the Great. His son Ptolemy reigned for a short period only, and Pyrrhus III., his son, was assassinated. But coins have been attributed to both. Laodamia, or Deidamia, his sister, succeeded him. She was the last of the race of Pyrrhus, and soon afterwards, about 150 B. C., Epirus formed part of the Roman province of Macedonia.

The Greek coins of the Asiatic dynasties subsequent to Alexander the Great are very numerous, independently of the three grand series treated of in Chapters VIII., IX., X., XI., and XII., so that only the most prominent can be glanced at within the compass of this work. Among the most interesting are those of the Kings of Bithynia, which I shall allude to first, and then rapidly pass on to others of the more remarkable series.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF BITHYNIA.

The kingdom of Bithynia is of very ancient date, but after the death of Cyrus appears to have been partially subject to Persia—a subjection which it shook off at the time of the Alexandrian invasion, escaping also the Macedonian subjection both of Alexander and his successors. Amycus, the son of Neptune and the nymph Melœus, is said to have been the founder of the monarchy; but the earliest king of this country mentioned in history, the date of whose reign can be fixed with certainty, is Dæsalces, cotemporary with Cyrus, 536 B. C. After many intervening sovereigns of small note we find Bias successfully opposing the troops of Alexander the Great, and his son, Zipetes, who succeeded him, in the year 320 B. C., was equally successful against Lysimachus. He is said to have died of joy, at a victory obtained over that prince.

Nicomedes I. succeeded Zipetes about 280 B. C., and very fine coins are attributed to him, especially one remarkable tetradrachm in the Cabinet of Vienna. The reverse has a very beautiful sitting figure of Diana, holding a sword in her left hand, and sustaining a spear with her right: beneath the seat is a rich shield, and one breast is uncovered after the manner of the Amazons.

Zela succeeded Nicomedes, whose son, Prusias, surnamed *Cunegas* (the hunter), began to reign about 220 B. C. He received Annibal at his court, who commanded his armies for a time against Eumenes, King of Pergamus, whom he then subdued. The Romans taking the side of Eumenes, demanded the surrender of their ancient enemy Annibal, a request which Prusias would ignominiously have complied with; but Annibal avoided this last degradation by poison. The tetratrachm of Prusias I. with a portrait on the obverse, and on the reverse a standing figure of Jupiter,

holding a laurel wreath, with the inscription, ΠΡΟΥΣΙΟΥ - ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, is the finest of the Bithynian series. The obverse, with the portrait, is shown in the woodcut.

There are very fine and interesting coins of other princes of this state, which Nicomedes III., in 75 B. C., bequeathed by will to the Romans.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF PERGAMUS.

This kingdom only rose upon the ruins of the empire of Alexander. Philetærus, a lieutenant of Lysimachus, and governor of the city of Pergamus, having shown much discontent at the death of Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, incurred the displeasure of Arsinoë, the king's young wife, by whose machinations her son-in-law had been destroyed. Philetærus revolted, and aided by Seleucus, founded the kingdom of Pergamus, 283 B. C.

He was succeeded by Eumenes, 263 B. C. Attalus I., allied himself to the Romans, thus attaining great influence in the political convulsions of the period during a reign of forty-four years. Eumenes, his successor, was also an ally of the Romans; he reigned with grest distinction and magnificence, and died 198 B. C. Attalus II. protected the arts, and after the fall of Corinth, purchased from among the booty a picture of Bacchus, by the painter Aristides, for 75,000 drachmæ, and offered 300,000 for another picture by the same artist. His nephew, Attalus III., bequeathed his property to the Romans, who chose to understand thereby, his kingdom; which notwithstanding the opposition of Aristonic, a son of Eumenes, they soon possessed themselves of, in the year 130 B. C., and parcelled it out in the following manner:—A portion was given to Mithridates, King of Pontus; a portion to the King of Cappadocia; and the rest declared a Roman province. Of Attalus II. there are very fine coins, and interesting pieces also of all the other reigns; indeed, some of the coins of this race, are extremely good; but those of the first Philetærus, the founder, are perhaps the finest. I allude to those with the fine sitting figure of Minerva on the reverse, similar to that on the coins of Lysimachus.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF PONTUS.

Pontus was a portion of ancient Cappadocia, and was sometimes described as Pontic Cappadocia. Antabases was, after the conquests of Darius Hystaspes, made king of that district, with the title King of Pontus. The most celebrated of the series of kings who succeeded him was Mithridates, grandson of Pharnaces I; he ascended the throne in his twelfth year, 123 B. C. It was he who maintained a war of twenty years against the gigantic power of Rome—and but that he had to

contend in succession against such leaders as Scylla, Lucullus, and Pompey, might even have triumphed. Crushed by the irresistible power of Rome, guided by such men, he died by his own hand, 64 B C.

Mithridates conquered and held Bithynia for a time. His coins have a finely executed head, and the inscription on the reverse is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΓΙΣ—ΓΙΣ marks the year 213 of the Pontic era, 84 B. C. On the coin under description, there is between the inscriptions a fawn, grazing, perhaps in allusion to the tame animals taught to watch outside his tent, and warn him of the approach of an enemy. The coin is surrounded with a wreath of alternate leaves and flowers, and is in a very pleasing style of art. The head on the obverse, though of fine art in the Greek feeling, has the mouth open as if speaking, a custom not uncommon in coins of barbaric nations of this part of Asia. Mithridates was a great lover of art, and especially engraved gems; and his collection, the prize of his victor Pompey, was placed in a temple of the Capitol at Rome. The kingdom, though changing hands many times, remained independent for a time; but the coins assumed a Roman style of workmanship, which decayed gradually, till the later ones are mean, and utterly barbaric.

After the death of Mithridates, the country became for a time subject to Rome, the kingdom of the Bosphorus alone being left to his son, Pharnaces, who afterwards recovered nearly the whole of Pontus, but was completely vanquished by Cæsar, who proceeded against him after the battle of Pharsalia; and it was on that occasion that he made use of the well-known and oft-repeated "Veni, vidi, vici." Pharnaces reigned altogether about fifteen years, and Polemon, and other princes who succeeded him, were afterwards allowed to govern a portion of the kingdom, till, in the reign of Nero, in the year 64 of our era, when the whole country became definitively subject to Rome.

The coins of Pontus form an interesting series, those of Mithridates the VI (the Great), being very fine; and there are other fine coins of the kings of Pontus, which are peculiarly interesting, as bearing a series of dates similar to those on the coins of the Seleucidæ.

KINGS OF THE CIMMERIAN BOSPHORUS.*

A long series of kings reigned over this district from 480 B. C. to 337 of our era, a period of above 800 years, for the country was never included within the absorbing circles of the Macedonian or Roman empires. A somewhat extensive series of coins exists, which, though interesting as historical monuments, have little to recommend them in point of art. I may, however, mention a gold coin of Perisades (the IVth according to Visconti), which is evidently an imitation of the gold of Lysimachus, and is a fine coin. A good portrait, in somewhat barbaric style, on a tetrarachm of Mithridates III., the reverse being a copy of the sitting Jupiter of the coins of Alexander the Great, A large gold of Pharnaces I. has a curious *Pantheci* figure, meant, as appears by the symbols, to represent both Mercury and Bacchus. The crescent and star are also found on the early coins of this series.

* Bosphorus, or more correctly Bosporus, signifies a ford or passage, of such moderate length or depth as may be traversed by an ox. Io metamorphosed into a cow, swam across the Cimmerian Bosphorus, to escape the anger of Juno.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF CAPPADOCIA.

A race of independent kings reigned in this country, which separates Asia Minor from Asia, from shortly after the death of Alexander, for 160 years. Their coins all bear a family name, Ariarathes, with epithets similar to those on the Syrian and Egyptian coins of the Macedonian dynasties, such as Philometer, Epiphanes, &c., &c.

The finest coins of the series are perhaps those of Ariarathes IV., the grandson of the Ariarathes who delivered the country from the yoke of the Macedonians. The obverse has the portrait with a royal fillet, and the reverse a sitting Minerva, holding in her right hand a small figure of Victory.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF ARMENIA.

Some coins occur of the kings of Armenia—they generally bear a portrait, with a cylindrical crown, like that of Tigranes;* others have a conical head-dress, partly covered with what appears to be chain mail, after the manner of the Circassian armour of the present day; such is the copper coin of Mithridates; and a similar kind of costume appears on the bronze coins of Samos.

OTHER GREEK REGAL COINS.

There are coins also of many other Asiatic princes, too numerous to mention; such as Arétas, King of Damascus; Tarchondimotus, King of Upper Cilicia, &c.; of the kingdom of Paphlagonia, and of Seuthes, King of Odrysses. Those of Cleomenes, King of Sparta, and also of Gentius, King of Illyria, belong to the same class of coins. But in an elementary work like the present, it would not only be tedious, but useless, to enumerate them all. But those of Mauritania and Numidia, as neighbours of Egypt and Carthage, ought not to pass altogether unnoticed, for the coins, though few, of these countries, will interest the student, as bearing the well-known names of Juba, Jugarthu, Massinissa, and others; which possess a sufficient historical interest to cause them to be sought by collectors.

With regard to the art displayed upon the different series of Greek regal coins, though occasionally very fine, as on those of the Lagidæ and Seleucidæ, it is yet inferior to that displayed on some of those of the independent cities and republics; some of whose coins, about the time of Alexander the Great, and for about half-a-century previous, displayed the highest art ever exhibited on Greek coins, not even excepting the exquisite productions of the celebrated Sicilian moneyers, as I shall have occasion to observe in Chapter XIV., a portion of which is devoted to a short essay on the art displayed on the Greek coinage.

* See page 76.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE DERIVATION OF MONETARY TERMS, AND OF THE METAL, WEIGHT, VALUE, INSCRIPTIONS, TYPES, AND ART OF THE GREEK COINAGE.

TO commence this chapter with an explanation of some of the general terms used in numismatics, I may remark, that even the word *coin* itself is a term which perhaps the general reader would not be able to trace to its origin. It is more immediately derived from the old French *coigne** (now written coin), a corner, or wedge, which in its turn is derived from the latin *cuneus*, a term for the wedge or punch used in striking money; so that pieces so *coigné*, or struck with the wedge, quoin, or coin, are termed coined money; and the separate pieces coins. Etymologists quote several passages of Chaucer, Shakespeare, and others, to show the application of the term coin; but Addison remarks, in his easy tone of pleasantry, "I cannot tell how poets will succeed in the explanation of coins, to which they are generally very great strangers." The term numismatic, and its derivatives come, as is at once evident, from the Greek word nomisma (Νομισμα), a piece of money. The origin of the Greek word itself is not so easily explained; but Millin suggests that it is formed of the Greek word nomos (νομος), law, because the value of a coin was determined and guaranteed by law, which is in fact the great and distinguishing principle of coined money, well expressed by the term nomisma. Xenophon applied the term nomisma (νομισμα) to the great iron weight, by the possession of which the Lacedæmonians thought themselves rich. He adds, that money was also termed χρῆμα, because with it we may possess all things.†

The word *medal*, a term till recently applied to all ancient coins, is also a word which does not at once suggests its derivation. We have it of course immediately from the French medaille and the Italian medaglia, terms similarly applied, which are both derived from the latin metallum, and the Greek metallon, *metal*. It appears probable that, when first the exquisite coins of the ancients were discovered and appreciated in modern times, they may have been called medals or *metals*, just as the beautiful relics of ancient sculpture were called *marbles*, as the Arundel marbles, the Elgin marbles, &c. This may, however, be considered a somewhat fanciful hypothesis.

The term *autonomous* is applied to a numerous class of Greek coins, and means such as were coined by independent cities and republics, according to *their own laws*, as the term implies, being compounded of *autos*, itself, or its own; and *nömos*, law. So that all Greek coins, not coins of princes, or subsequently of the Roman empire, are classed as autonomous. The coins of Smyrna and Damascus, as those of free cities, remained autonomous long after the domination of the Seleucidæ in Syria.

* Irish, cuinne.

† The later Romans derived the word from Numa, by some supposed to be the inventor of coining in Italy.

The Greek coins of princes are known as *regal* coins; and the Greek coins under the Roman empire are distinguished by the general term, *imperial Greek;* during a portion of which period, however, some favoured places were still allowed to strike *autonomous* money. Other numismatic terms of similar character will belong more properly to the Roman series.

The date of the earliest Greek coins has been treated of in a separate chapter, but a few remarks on the subject here may not be out of place, in order to render the review more complete. The laws of Solon, who acquired his principal influence about 600 B. C., make frequent allusion to money, as a well-established medium of exchange, not a novelty; and we even find the punishment of death pronounced against forgers.* This evidence, and many other circumstances regarding the written characters on the oldest coins, the style of the coins before letters were impressed upon them, and their style of fabric, would place their origin in Greece somewhat about 700 years B. C.

OF THE GREEK COINAGE OF SILVER.

Silver may be said to be the standard metal of the Greek coinage, having been used long before gold, and giving its name to the national money; for silver, and money, were synonymous terms among the Greeks—as *argent* with the modern French. The Greek word αργυρος (silver) forms the word καπαργυροω, to bribe with money, and many others relating to monetary influence; while a similar term, formed of the word χρυσος (gold), signifies simply to cover or plate with that metal. The Athenians, who adopted gold at a very late period, continued to call a money changer a *silver changer* (αργυραμοιβος), after other states had adopted a more general term.

The silver of the ancient coins was of the greatest purity, and as the refining of this substance requires much more metallurgic skill than gold, it shows that the knowledge of the ancients respecting the best modes of working the precious metals must have been very considerable. The Athenians wrought with profit the silver mines of Larium, near to Athens, now not deemed capable of paying the expenses of working. The Romans drew the greater part of the wealth from Spain, and worked the rich mines of Guadalcana, which, after remaining centuries in a state of inactivity, have just been purchased by an English company, and Cornish miners are successfully extracting the wealth that has slept there for ages.†

The principal names of the Greek silver coins were the *drachma*, which is the unit from which all larger sums are calculated, and the *obolus*, which was a sixth part of the drachma.‡ The drachma contained six obols (ὀβολοὶ), and the Athenians had silver coins as large as four drachmæ, and as small as a quartter of an obol.

The mina contained 100 drachmæ, equal to £4 1*s*. 3*d*.; the talent, sixty minæ, and was thus equal to £243 15*s*. The obolus, in later times, was of copper, but in the great time of Grecian prosperity it was of silver. The piece of two drachms is known as a didrachma; that of three as a tridrachma; that of four as a tetradrachma, which latter are more common in cabinets than silver coins of any other size; but there are also octodrachms, or eight drachm pieces, and even ten drachm pieces, termed decadrachms.

* Demosthenes, Orat. adv. Timocrat.

† See page 55, note.

‡ For derivation of these terms, see page 17.

The following table, from Hussey, will show the relative value of Athenian and English money:—

	Shillings.	Pence.	Farthings.
Quarter Obol	...	...	1·625
Half Obol	...	...	3·25
Obol	...	1 ...	2·5
Dioulus	...	3 ...	1
Triobolus	...	4 ...	3·5
Tetrabolus	...	6 ...	2
Drachma	...	9 ...	3
Didrachma	1 ...	7 ...	2
Tridrachma (none known)			
Tetradrachma	3 ...	3 ...	

There were different standards of the drachma in different parts of Greece, but the principal were the Attic and the Æginetan. The Attic drachma, from the period of Solon to Alexander the Great, weighed a little more than 65 grains, and in some cases contained nearly a sixteenth of alloy. Each of our shillings contain rather more than 80 grains of pure silver, so that an Attic drachma, according to the present standard value of silver, represents according to Hussey about 9¾d.; Pinkerton makes it only 9d.; but with the Athenians, it represented more value with reference to gold than our shilling does, as only 20 drachmæ went to the gold stater, which with us, according to the present value of gold, would be worth 23s. 6d. The Æginetan drachma was 96 grains, and represents 1s. 1d. of our money. Philip of Macedon adopted the Athenian standard instead of the Ægenitan, which had been in previous use in that country; and the Attic standard thus adopted by Philip was spread by his son Alexander over grater part of Asia and Northern Africa, becoming afterwards the standard weight of the Parthian and Persian dynasties. But in Egypt the Ptolemies restored the ancient Macedonian standard.

Of popular names of coins—(κορη) *the maiden*, was a name given to the Athenian tetradrachm, on account of the head of Minerva which it always bore. The gold coins of Crœsus were termed Crœsians; those of Darius Hystaspes, Darics; and the staters of Philip of Macedon, Philips, &c. &c.; others were named after their weight or value, as the Sicilian medallions, which were called Pentacolitræ, as being worth 50 litræ.*

OF THE GREEK COINAGE OF GOLD.

With regard to gold, we have seen that the earliest gold coinage was that of Lydia, soon imitated by the Greek states of Asia Minor. The gold coins of Lydia, of the prosperous part of the reign of Crœsus, found their way to Greece in large numbers, being, as above remarked, termed Crœsians. The gold staters of Cyzicus and Phocea were perhaps next in antiquity to the gold of Lydia, then came the Persian Darics.† Mionnet has engraved an extremely early gold coin of Athens, with the national symbol, an owl on the obverse, and on the reverse the hollow punch marks of the earliest periods. But this isolated specimen may have been merely an experimental pattern of a silver coin struck in gold by the fancy of the mint master, just as we find in our own coinage, not only *specimens* or *patterns* of some of our silver coins struck in gold, but pattern specimens of our farthings and halfpence also occur in gold, facts which may account for the few specimens of Athenian gold that are known.

* The litræ was a Sicilian copper weight.

† See page 28, Plate 1, Fig. 4.

It has been observed by a numismatic author that the Athenian gold coin in the Hunterian collection, at Glasgow, would, if brought to sale, probably realize a higher price than was ever realized for a single coin. But this is very doubtful, for the days of extravagant prices for curiosity alone are past, and the price realized by the exquisite petition crown of Charles II. by Simon, £200,* could scarcely be given now for a small coin that has no particular interest but its scarceness. Not above two or three Χρυσοι, or gold didrachms of Athens, are in existence; but there is also a hemicrusos of Thebes, in Dr. Hunter's collection.

The Persian Darics just alluded to must have been once most abundant, notwithstanding their rarity now, which is accounted for, as previously stated, by the fact of their being collected and recoined by Alexander the Great, with Grecian types, after his conquests in Asia. Perhaps these Darics are the coins mentioned in the Bible, in the time of David, under the name of Adarkon's, or Darkemon's. In the year 401 B. C. the Daric passed for 20 Attic drachmæ, and weighed from 128 to 127 grains. But it appears that, as gold became more plentiful in Greece after the discovery of the Thessalian mines, it became, with reference to silver, less valuable, as we find the gold staters of Philip II.,† though weighing near 133 grains, still only passing for 20 drachmæ.

Philip II., on obtaining possession of the gold mines near Philippi, improved them so much that they yielded him annually above a thousand talents of gold, or £2,880,000. That gold *did* decrease in value after this great increase in the supply, is clear from the following fact: we find Herodotus valuing gold at thirteen times its weight of silver; afterwards, Plato, in his Hipparchus, at only twelve.‡ That after the abundant supply of gold Philips, its value was still farther decreased, is shown in the following statement, which proves it to have sunk to ten times the value of silver, while with us it is eleven times more valuable, but has greatly fluctuated, for in the early part of the reign of Edward VI. it was only five times more valuable, and at one time only four times, though it soon afterwards attained to nearly its proper average standard. The gold stater weighed just double the weight of the drachma; thus, when twenty drachmæ were worth one stater, gold was just ten times more valuable than silver. The Philip of 133 grains would be worth with us £1 3*s*. 5*d*., while twenty silver drachma would only be worth 16s. 3d., the stater of Philip was reckoned one-fifth of the Mina. The Sicilian imitation of the Philip (Plate 3., No. 10), will convey a correct idea of the coin.

Alexander the Great issued a very abundant supply of gold, the general types of which were a head of Minerva, with a victory on the reverse, as shown at Plate 4., Nos. 7 and 8. His successor in Macedon, Lysimachus, also issued some fine gold coins. Of the Ptolemies there are gold pieces of large size, termed octodrachms and pentadrachms, as well as the usual staters.

The gold coins of Tarentum and Syracuse are abundant, and present exquisite varieties of type, of the style of which, specimens Nos. 3 and 4, Plate 3, will convey a good idea. The Sicilian gold, with the Carthaginian types of the horse and palm tree, are also very abundant.

* See Noel Humphrey's coins of England, page 90. † See page 58.

‡ In Rome, after the great supply of Spanish silver was introduced, gold was never less than twelve times more valuable than silver.

In electrum or pale gold, that is, gold with a fifth, and sometimes a third of silver, there are early Lydian coins, Sicilian coins of the period of Agathocles, coins of the Kings of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and also early Gaulish coins. Early British of this pale gold are also known, but neither these or the Gaulish are of a higher antiquity than the second or third century before the christian era.

With the exception of the electrum pieces, the gold used in the ancient coinages was of the purest quality, which shows that at a very early period efficacious modes of refining metals were well understood.

The very diminutive gold coins of some places are remarkable, being, notwithstanding their excessive smallness, sometimes of the most beautiful workmanship; those attributed to the Macedonian Neapolis are good examples of this minute gold coinage, they have a mask, the symbol of the city, on one side, and a bunch of grapes on the other.

OF THE GOLD STATER.

The Greek gold was coined to a weight generally known as the *stater*, or standard, which held about the same relative position to the silver drachma, as our sovereign does to the shilling, about twenty Attic drachma generally going to the stater of gold, though there are variations in the weight of the stater both at different periods and in different places.

In addition to the stater, the common variations of the weight of which were from 125 to 135 grains, there are gold pieces of most of the cities and islands of Asia Minor, weighing about forty grains, and corresponding pieces of double that weight, about eighty grains. There are also greater variations in particular cases in the stater itself, that of Cyzicus, for instance, and Lampsacus, the former passing about the Bosphorus in 335 B. C., for twenty-eight Attic drachmæ. The stater of Phocea also differed considerably in weight. Though the stater was the generic term by which the standard gold piece was known, it was in some places called a krusos, or piece of gold, from the Greek word, signifying gold, just as in Rome their standard gold piece was called the *aureus;* while in Egypt, under the Ptolemies, the gold was sometimes called after its *weight* in drachms, the term drachma, as previously explained, being the name of a weight as well as a coin; so that the large pieces of Greco-Ægyptian gold were termed octodrachms, pentadrachms, &c., and sometimes the Greek staters were termed gold didrachms, weighing two drachms, or double the weight of a silver drachma. There was also a silver stater, which was equal to four drachms, and some consider it the same as the Jewish shekel; from the statement of Josephus, who rates the shekel at four drachms.

OF THE GREEK COINAGE OF COPPER.

I have not referred to *copper* coins, in tracing the origin and development of the Greek coinage, because the coins of that metal in the Greek series, are of very inferior interest to those of gold and silver. But in this place, while specially describing the different metals used for Grecian money, I must necessarily refer to copper.

I have stated that in European Greece silver preceded the use of gold, while copper came into use even later, and more sparingly, than gold. The language of

money dealings* does not recognise the word χαλκος (copper), which occurs even less frequently than gold, (χρυσός).

There are, nevertheless, copper coins of Greece of a very early period, even that to which the incused square, or punch mark, on the reverses belong. Some of Aeropus, King of Macedon, 399 B. C., being among the earliest to which a date can be assigned; but others, both of Greece, Sicily, and even Marseilles, (the latter recently discovered), exhibit an equally ancient style of fabrication. Its first use may perhaps be roughly dated at about 400 or 450 B. C.

Athenæus relates that Dionysius was called the brazen orator, because he persuaded the Athenians to coin copper. He flourished about 400 B. C. Pinkerton says, "The first copper coins are those of Gelo, of Syracuse, 490 B. C," but this is a mistake long since rectified; there are no authenticated coins of the Gelo who reigned at that time, *and* it is of Gelo, the son of Hiero II., between 270 and 216 B. C., that gold, silver, and copper coins exist; the copper of the period of Hiero† are ounce and half-ounce pieces, one twelfth and one twenty-fourth of the ancient litrà or pound, which have been mistaken for those of the earlier Gelo. The first Greek copper coins were called *chalcos*, a term signifying a piece of brass; two of these pieces went to the quarter obulus of silver. Demosthenes, and other writers, speak of things not worth a *chalcos*, meaning *nothing*, or, as we should say, a brass button. As Greece became poorer in the precious metals, even portions of the chalcos were coined, called lepta (ΛΕΠΤΑ), a term meaning little coins. They were sometimes eight to the chalcos. Pollux, Hesychius, and Suidas, among ancient writers, furnish all that is known about ancient Greek copper; and Combes's account of Greek copper is perhaps the best modern authority.

Pinkerton, in speaking of the differences of ancient authors on this subject, says of the lexicographers, Pollux, Hesychius, and Suidas—To all these authors the apothegms of Pope may apply, "A man who is capable of writing a dictionary, may be supposed to understand the meaning of one word, but never that of two put together." He then complains, that "Pollux, and Suidas following him, tells us that there were seven lepta to the chalcos; Pliny, ten; Diodorus and Cleopatra, six; and Isodorus, four. But these apparent inconsistencies, which so much annoyed Pinkerton, may perhaps all be right, of different states, and different periods; for it is a subject not to be so flippantly or easily disposed of, as Pinkerton imagined. As the Athenian diobolus, or double obolus of silver, had two owls with one head, or sometimes two entire owls, to denote its double value—so the copper pieces with two owls, or two bodies, may be considered dilepta. According to Combe, these copper coins may be divided into lepton, dilepton, tetralepton, or hemichalchos (half chalcos), and chalcos; the largest about the size of our farthing. Of a later period, but still anterior to the Roman conquests, larger, but still uninteresting coins are known; the finest being probably the large copper pieces of Hiero II. and Hieronymus, of Syracuse; though good copper coins, of that comparatively late period, may be found among those of the Lagidæ which are peculiar, those of the Seleucidæ, and some republican states. Copper was occasionally used even in large payments, for even as early as 185 B.C., Ptolemy Epiphanes paid talents in copper.‡

* Hussey. † King of Sicily. ‡ (Lucian.)

The names of the copper coins sometimes occur on the coins themselves. On a coin of Antioch on the Oronest, we find XAA, for XAAKON. The chalcos and other copper coins of Greece were partially superceded about the time of the Roman subjugation, when the *obolus* was coined in copper, and was at first as large as the Roman large brass. They coined also the assarion, of which sixteen went to the denarius, for no Greek silver, with the exception of the money of a few rich cities, such as Damascus, Smyrna, &c., was coined in Greece after the Roman domination. Silver being superseded by the Roman brass, of the various sizes. The copper coins of the island of Chios have names on them, such as assarion, &c. Their type is a sphinx on the obverse, with XIΩN, (of Chios), or of the people of Chios; and on the reverse an amphora between two stars, and the word assarion. The half assarion has HMYCY ACCAPION, see woodcut, representing the reverse of an assarion.

OF THE INSCRIPTIONS ON GREEK COINS.

The earliest inscriptions on Greek coins consist of a single letter, being the initial one of the name of the city where the coin was struck, such as A or AG (AΓ) on the earliest coins of Ægina, or A on those of Argos. To this single letter the letters following were gradually added in successive periods, till eventually the perfect name of the city appears on its coins. The addition of secondary, and eventually other letters arose, no doubt as the art of coinage spread, from the necessity of distinguishing the coins from those of other towns, the names of which commenced with the same letter. In some instances the full name was never placed on the coin of the state or town, which generally occurred when the civic or national types were sufficiently distinct, and not imitated or adopted by other places. This may be said of the coins of the Bœotian capital, Thebes, the peculiar buckler type being, doubtless, found a sufficient distinction (see page 18).

Other cities of Bœotia have the same national type of the shield or buckler, but are distinguished by the initial letters of the respective places where they were issued; not the least interesting are those of the ever memorable Platea, which have ΠΛΑ (PLA), the first three letters ot the name.

Single letters, indicating the name of the city or state where the coin was struck, occur also on coins of a comparatively late period—such as D (Δ), P (Π), for Damascus, Ptolemais, &c.

On the coins of Athens, AΘE (ATHE) is generally found. On later coins of Ægina the letters AIGI (AIΓI). The last form, as I have stated, is that in which the entire name of the state or city is found, generally in the genitive case, as (XAAKIΔEΩ), of the Chalcidonians—the word money being understood.

A more interesting example is, perhaps, a Spartan coin, with the inscription at full length, ΛAKEΔAMONIΩN (of the Lacedæmonians), for whether the iron money

of Lycurgus ever had a real existence or not, the Spartans eventually adopted a coinage similar to that of the rest of Greece, and some of the coins of their colonies, especially those of Cyrene, in Africa, are very fine—one with the head of Jupiter Ammon, in the British Museum, is equal in workmanship and grandeur of style to almost any coin known.

Or, I might cite, as another example of the name at full length, that of a coin of Sidon, which stands thus—ΣΙΔΩΝΙΩΝ (of the Sidonians). I may observe here that the coins of Tyre and Sidon are of comparatively modern date, long after their ancient pre-eminence had passed away; but even of this period their coins are somewhat rare. When Cardinal Noris wrote on Syrian coins he only knew nine of Tyre, while Pellerin subsequently cites twenty-nine, all of the period of the Seleucidæ.

Monograms also occur in addition to the name or part name of the place, for instance, on a coin of Lacedæmon, after the letters ΑΑ, two complicated monograms occur, which are supposed to contain the names of the Ephores* or chief magistrates; but though much has been written on the subject, comparatively few of such monograms have been satisfactorily made out. But there are also monograms denoting the names of places, some of which have been satisfactorily explained, such as

Achaia. Panormus. Heraclea. Leontium.

In some cases a monogram is made the principal object on the reverse of the coin, as in the coins of Arcadia, shown in the accompanying woodcut. A small object

appears below it, which is thought to be a pandean pipe. A fine head of Pan occupies the obverse, which is distinguished by two small horns just appearing through the roots of the hair on the forehead. The custom of monograms was long continued in the East, and no doubt through the lower empire reached Britain, for we have a coin of Alfred, with a large monogram of London, occupying the entire reverse, much in the style of the Arcadian coin engraved above.

A peculiar style of inscription has been termed *Boustrophédon*, because at the end of a certain line, it turns and comes back the other way, like the furrow traced by an ox in ploughing a field, for instance on coins of Agrigentum, the name is sometimes written, ΑΚΡΑΓ or ΑΚΡΑϹ In English it would stand as AGRIG
NITNA ϹOTNA MUTNE

On some of Neapolis (Naples), ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙ On those of Tenedos, ΤΕΝΕΔΙ
ϹΑΤ NO

A knowledge of the Greek dialect is essential in assigning coins to their proper places by means of their inscriptions, in cases where there are two or more places of the same name, as for instance, Apollonia. Thus the early coins with

* The initial letters of magistrate's names are very general on Greek coins of all classes, and must not be confused with the *letter-numerals* (or dates), or the names of the states or cities.

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΑΤΑΝ, in the Doric dialect, could not be of Apollonia, in Thrace; and those with ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΤΕΩΝ, could not be of Apollonia, in Illyria, of which the inhabitants were of Doric origin.

Curious etymologies have been sought to be established through the medium of inscriptions on coins, of which the following is a fair, though perhaps far-fetched, example:—On a coin of Cnos is a head of Apollo, which Chishull says is a personification of the people, and that the inscription Πολχος, is for ΔΗΜΟΣ, or the older word coming from Ο'ηλος, of which the Æolians made ΦΟΛΧΟΣ, and then ΠΟΛΧΟΣ, from which are derived the latin *vulgus*, the Italian *volgo*, the German *volck*, and English *folk* for people: this would be highly interesting if it could be depended on.

But to show what mistakes may be made in deciphering inscriptions (though not a very analagous case), I may cite the blunder of D'Eccard, who mistook the small silver coin of Marseilles (Massilia), with the head of Apollo—which has the initial letters of the name of the place, M. A.—for a coin of Marc Antony; and the Grecian head of Apollo, for that of the Roman Triumvir.

As what are termed speaking types by numismatists may also be regarded when considered in that light, as inscriptions, I may here mention two or more examples, first that of the *rose*, on the coins of Rosas, a Greek town on the coast of Spain, and also on those of the island of Rhodes; the Greek name of the flower expressing that of the city. Sometimes this type occurs entirely unaccompanied by any inscription, and may then certainly be fancifully termed a *speaking* * type; but such types are frequently accompanied with the initial letters of the name also, R. O. (PO) being common on the coins of Rhodes. The second example I shall cite here is that of Ancona, the name of which signifies an elbow, and the coins of that place have the bent arm or elbow for type, always accompanied, however, by the inscription ΑΓΚΩΝ.

Coins with the parsley leaf, without any inscription, were long a puzzle to numismatists, till they found the symbol accompanied by the letters ΣΕΛΙ, which proved them to belong to Selinus, Σελινον being the name of the plant.†

When the names of princes begin to be found on coins—that of Alexander I. of Macedon being the earliest instance—they are at first simple and without titles, as ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ (in the genitive case), *of Philip*, on the coins of Philip of Macedon. His son, the great Alexander, at first did the same, but afterwards we find the addition of Basileus (king), "Of Alexander the King;" and on the coins of his successors, in different parts of his empire, we find such titles as, "Of Seleucius the King, the victorious;" "Of Antiochus, the Saviour, &c. &c.;" and on the coins of the Bactrian and Parthian successors of the Greeks still more bombastic titles, as "Great King of Kings," *Saviour God*, &c. &c.

COUNTERMARKS.

But before I quit the subject of Greek inscriptions I must not omit to speak of *countermarks*, or letters placed in the field, or open space, of a coin, evidently after the original impression.‡ These countermarks puzzled the old numismatists more,

* See page 110.

† For fuller explanation of such types see farther on, article on types in general, page 110.

‡ Dollars were countermarked with the head of George III., to give them legal circulation in England, at a time that silver was scarce.

perhaps, than any other peculiarity of ancient coins, and much ridiculous speculation took place on the subject. The discovery of one fresh monument of unexpected character often demolishes a whole phalanx of finely-drawn theories, such as Mahudel's theory of countermarks, previous to the formation of the cabinet of Pellerin. Mahudel considered the countermark a sort of arbitrary declaration of increased value, and had a number of other fancies on the subject. De Boze exploded part of his theory; but it was left to Pellerin to demolish the whole—he being the first to establish the principle of ancient countermarks, as now generally accepted—namely, that cities and sovereigns countermarked coins of other nations, when they accepted them as current money in their own states.

The Abbé Bellé considered the countermarks as numbers relating to sacrifices or epochs; but he possibly confused them with the letter-numerals of the coins of the Seleucidæ, and other dynasties.

Greek coins of nearly all periods, except the very early ones, are found occasionally countermarked; and what is remarkable, among a people so keenly alive to the beauties of art, is, that the countermark is frequently struck in some of the most beautiful parts of the work—on the cheek of a beautiful female head, for instance. Some coins are doubly and triply countermarked, the marks being those of different states who have successively admitted the circulation of the coins, whilst Mahudel would have seen in this, three successive augmentations of value.* Greek silver is very often countermarked, but the gold rarely so, the Philips only, being found occasionally impressed with a countermark.

The Roman gold and silver is seldom found countermarked with Greek types, as being of the same weight with the great bulk of Greek money it passed current for the same value, while the Roman copper being founded upon a distinct and national series of weights is very frequently found countermarked by a great number of different Greek cities, &c. &c.

These countermarks also denote an alliance between two towns or states, and when such alliance was permanent the countermark was engraved in the original die, to save the trouble of impressing it afterwards. But I have already spoken of this custom in another place.

In speaking of inscriptions I must not omit to allude to the letter-numerals, forming dates on the coins of most Greek coins of princes after the time of Alexander the Great, those of the Seleucidæ, Lagidæ, the Kings of Pontus and Armenia, &c., and some towns, especially Asiatic ones. The following table will show the principle upon which the letters were used:—

GREEK NUMERALS.

	A	B	Γ	Δ	E	ϛ or ϝ	Z	H	Θ
UNITS.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	I	K	Λ	M	N	Ξ	O	Π	ϙ
TENS.	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90
	P	Σ	T	Υ	Φ	X	Ψ	Ω	λ
HUNDREDS.	100	200	300	400	500	600	700	800	900

† Encyclopedie Francaise, where there is an excellent though rather long argument about countermarks, quite settling the point—Why coins of kings are countermarked by towns, and vice versâ · They cite Pellerin, Haym, Hunter, Neumann. and Eckhel for illustrations, and authors in support of their view of the case might now be cited by dozens.

These letters are generally preceded by the character L.* (for the word year) (Λυκαϛας), such as L. ΑΓ on the coins of Ptolemy Philadelphus, meaning [the year thirty-three of his reign. Thus, 158 would stand PNH. Near to these letters (sometimes joining them) a monogram is generally attached, referring to the name of the town where the coins were struck, or to the name of a magistate, &c. Such a monogram must not be confused with the letters composing the dates. These dates are nearly always on the reverse, and generally at the bottom of the coin.† They are sometimes preceded by ETOTΣ, (also meaning year).

THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE TYPES FOUND ON GREEK COINS—TYPES OF THE FIRST PERIOD, CONSISTING OF NATURAL AND SACRED SYMBOLS.

The following remarks refer principally to the class of coins termed *autonomous*—the devices, or types of which, generally refer to the earliest periods of Grecian history, and are bound up with its heroic legends and its poetic mythology.

Seals were used, and sealing was a solemnization of a compact, long before the use of coins. The earliest coins were therefore pieces of *sealed metal*, instead of wax; and the fact of the earliest coins being only marked or sealed on one side, is additional evidence of this. Their susceptibility of further improvement in fabric, by impressions on both sides, was a natural afterthought of the inventive and artistic Greeks. No device could be so appropriate, and so sacred, to guarantee the purity and weight of their first money of fixed value, as those symbols sacred to the public worship of the place, hence the peculiarity of the Greek types. These types on the early coinage of Greece afford therefore, without doubt, a key capable of unravelling the mysteries surrounding many events of the heroic period; and in fact, says Mr. Burgon (in a careful and instructive article in the "Numismatic Chronicle,") "the possibility of adding very materially to the common stock of knowledge by the study of ancient coins, was perceived very soon after the revival of learning; and the meaning of their types have occupied the ablest of a host of learned and eminent men in succession, from the middle of the sixteenth century down to our time."

Mr. Burgon has, in the article in the "Numismatic Chronicle," sought to prove that the types of coins are all of a religious character, and that such emblems as the ear of wheat and the bunch of grapes, do not refer at all to the products or fertility of the country, but merely to the worship of Bacchus and Ceres.‡ Thus, while Pellerin, Eckhel, and others have, with reference to the coins of Myconos which bear the bunch of grapes, those of Metapontum with the ear of wheat,‖ speak only of these emblems as referring to the products of the soil,§ Mr. Burgon

* L is the more ancient form of Λ (Lambda), which is another proof that the remark of Pliny, when he states that the Greek alphabet was anciently the same as the Roman, was correct.

† In what is termed the *exergue*.

‡ The emblems of Ceres and Bacchus often go together on ancient coins. Montfaucon, in his "Antiquité Expliqué," gives a Thasian coin or medal in illustration of the characteristics of Bacchus, on which a head of the horned Bacchus occurs on one side, and an ear of barley as an emblem of Ceres on the other—bread and wine.

‖ Both these symbols are found on the coins of many other places.

§ It has been remarked, that if these symbols alluded to the produce of the soil, there must have been an abundance of stags at Ephesus, on the coins of which place they appear. This may have been possibly the case if the Diana, as goddess of the chase, was adopted as the tutelary deity of the city by a race of hunters, who most certainly would not have settled in a country where there was no game. But if the worship of Diana was adopted from other causes, then the stag on the coins may be regarded as merely an object of sacrifice to Diana, and consequently one of the symbols by which her impersonations are attended.

insists on their purely religious character. It is possible that both views may be easily reconciled; and that both are true. In districts fertile in corn, its culture would be the most important pursuit of the inhabitants, and in the then existing state of religious development, the worship of Ceres would be a natural consequence; and the ear of corn would, as forming part of the periodical sacrifices, be consecrated to Ceres—thus it would be at the same time emblematic of the fertility of the soil, and an emblem sacred to Ceres.

The impersonations of such deities or their symbols, were the subjects almost universally adopted by Greek states, at a certain period, as the fittest devices with with which to *seal* their coins as a guarantee of their genuineness; and the adoption of the deity, and dedication of the symbols, having frequently depended upon the nature of the produce of the country or its general character, such impersonations or emblems become, not only the religious symbols of the state, but at the same time inevitably denote the character of the country, or its produce.

When, therefore, an emblem is found upon a coin, the name of which accords with the name of the district or town, it must not always be taken as a *pun* upon the name of the place, which idea has so much shocked some of those numismatists who most strongly insist on the sacred character of such types, but as being the name of a thing, or circumstance, from which the town itself originally took its name, and which, as connected with the origin of the place, had become sacred. Thus, the coins of Phocea have, what the old numismatists termed a *speaking* type—that is, one which represented the name of the place—a *seal*, the Greek name of which is *phoce* (φωκη). But this was not adopted because its name was that of the town, but because a circumstance occurred, from the superstitious interpretation of which the town itself was named. A shoal of seals preceded the ships of the original emigrants when the colony was founded; seeming to guide them to their destination; the name of Phocea, or, as we might translate it, Sealtown, was therefore given to the newly-founded city; and a *seal* was in consequence probably made an object of periodical sacrifice to Neptune, and so became a sacred symbol; from which circumstance, and not for a pun upon the name, we find it on the coins of that state. Coins, with types of this description, are as follows:—Rhodes, a rose (ρόδου); Selinus, the parsley leaf, *selinon* (σελινου); Side, the pomegranate, sidé (σίδη); Melos, the apple, or melon (μῆλου); Ancona, the elbow (αγκὼν); Cardia, the heart, (καρδία).

The cause of the parsley being held sacred at Selinuns is thus explained by Mr. Burgon—"It is well known that it was usual to pay divine honours to adjacent rivers, as causes of fertility and other benefits. The profusion of the plant in question on the banks of the two rivers near Selinuns, has been remarked by travellers of our own day, and with the imaginative Greeks it became the emblem of the deity whom they sought to propitiate, and in consequence the name of the plant was given to the town that arose. From these observations and facts it appears pretty clear that the old numismatic fancy of the *speaking types*, as a system of punning, may safely be abandoned.

The Sicilian town of Zancle has a sickle for emblem. Zagkle (ζαγκλη), being the Greek name of that instrument. This may be explained by supposing that in most fertile corn districts, among the rustic worshippers, that important instrument was made sacred to Ceres, and gave its name to the rustic village which eventually

became a city—upon the coins of which might appear a symbol rendered sacred by antique worship. But in this case the supposition is mere hypothesis, as the object represented may after all not be a sickle, but might represent a horse-shoe, or the semicircular form of a port, for it is far from clearly defined; but has been called a sickle by the advocates of *speaking types* in consequence of its analogy with the name of the place.

Other cities derived their names from those of deities themselves. Posidonia for instance, from the Greek name of Neptune, *Poseidon*. Yet the appearance of the figure of Poseidon, which occur upon the coins of that place, has never been thought a *speaking* type, or to have a double meaning, expressing at once the name of the place and personifying the tutelary deity. Tarentum was named after Taras, the reputed son of Neptune, the founder of the city; and Sybaris, when it changed its name, took that of Thurium, that of the presiding nymph or deity of a neighbouring spring. Mr. Burgon especially remarks that the name of Athens has never been supposed to be taken from the ancient Greek name of its tutelary deity Minerva, *Athena*; but yet such would be the most natural explanation, and there appears little reason to doubt that it was so named, at the period when its more ancient name was discontinued.

OF TYPES OF THE SECOND PERIOD—IMPERSONATIONS OF DEITIES.

The earliest types on Greek coins, as we have seen, are symbols taken from natural objects which have been invested with a local and religious interest, and adopted as emblematic of the town or state using them.

Next appear ideal portraits of the deities of the Greek mythology, the especial deity of each town occupying eventually the precise place in the national religious feeling, as the patron saint of a modern Roman Catholic state.

It is not my intention in the present work to attempt a description of the origin of the worship of the different gods, or impersonations of natural phenomena, which formed the basis of the Greek mythology; but a few remarks on the character and attributes of one or two leading deities, may form an appropriate introduction to the observations I shall have to make on the second period of Greek types, that of impersonating the deities themselves, instead of representing them through the medium of symbols.

The Jupiter of the earliest Greeks was the forest god of the countries in the north of Greece, especially the sacred forest of Dodonea—and afterwards the temple of the city of Dodna became celebrated for the oracle of the Dodonean Jupiter. Jupiter was afterwards known as the Pelasgian Zeus—Zeus being the earliest name of the Jupiter of Asia Minor. This early Pelasgian Jupiter, or incarnation of the creative power, seems placed with great poetic feeling in the depths of the majestic forest, those greatest emblems of the productive vigour of nature. He is crowned with oak, the most noble form of forest vegetation; and here we find an analogy between the early Greek or Pelasgian mythology, and that of the more northern Druidism, placed also in the depths of forests, and the oak also being a sacred emblem.

As Jupiter is generally represented as a venerable being—a *father* god, so Apollo is generally represented without beard, brilliant with early youth—a *son*

god. But these personifications occasionally change places, and we find at the Italian Anxur (the modern Terracina) a beardless and youthful Jupiter was worshipped, while on the coins Alæsa, in Sicily, we find a bearded Apollo. All these discrepancies are to be explained by local fable or tradition, moulded to suit a primitive mythology. The wolf is a general symbol of Apollo, and a particular one of the Lycian Apollo, from lycas, a wolf; while leucus also means light or white; and Apollo being god of the sun, or light, the image of the wolf was possibly originally adopted from the similarity of the *name*, as the *symbol* of light. Danaus considered the wolf* as a symbol of Apollo, and so built a temple to Apollo at Argos, which is more especially the Lycian Apollo. The word Argos also expresses light, so that the town also may have been named after Apollo.†

The representations of gods were at first of the rudest character, and many were originally mere masses of stone, such as the famous stone deity of Syria, carried to Rome by Elagabalus as described by Herodian. The figure of this stone was conical, its colour black, and the tradition respecting it was that it fell from heaven, no doubt an ærolite; and such masses, especially when their descent was witnessed, as must have been sometimes the case, were well calculated to awake the superstition of a primitive race. Venus was anciently worshipped at Paphos under the form of a conical stone, as recorded on a Cyprian coin of the age of Severus.

The Juno of Thespias, the Diana of Icaria, &c. &c., were originally blocks of stone, or columns; and among the Lacedæmonians the Dioscuri were represented by two parallel pieces of wood or stone, united by two transverse pieces. To trace the progress of imagination and art by which these masses of stone were gradually shaped into idealized representations of the human form, till in their progress they attained the highest flights of sublime sculpture in the Phidian Jupiter, and the Venus of Praxiteles, would be out of place here. But an examination of the rude head of Pan on the Thasian coin, in Plate 1, in comparison with the head of Proserpine, on the Syracusan coin of Plate 3, will exhibit the progress made in less than three centuries in a very striking manner.

I have stated that as a general rule, open, however, to many exceptions, the appearance of positive impersonations of various deities on coins may be considered to belong to a posterior period to that of representing them by symbols only. Of this second period, the fine examples are without end; the noble head of the Dodonean Jupiter on the fine tetradrachm of Pyrrhus; the head of Jupiter Ammon on a coin of Cyrene; the head of Diana on the coins of Ephesus; the head of Apollo in full face on the coins of Caria; the fine head of Arethusa on the coins of Clazomene; the splendid head of Proserpine or Ceres on the Syracusan coinage; and the exquisite Pallas on the coins of Thurium are sufficient examples, though I might go on citing heads of Bacchus, Pan, and various Jupiters in endless variety. Of the same phase

* See page 34.

† As illustrative of the spirit of the Greek types, I may allude to that of the eye. The sense of sight has always been considered one of the most miraculous efforts of creation, and was, consequently, made one of the divine attributes. The ancient statue of Jupiter, at Argos, had three eyes, one placed in the forehead like the Cyclops. Ships were placed under divine watchfulness, by having eyes painted upon them, as we see on some Etruscan vases; and this custom, of the highest antiquity, is still prevalent in China The early christian symbol of the "eye of Providence" was doubtless conceived in the same spirit. The darkness which long surrounded the early creeds of man is being rapidly dispelled, by a more intimate knowledge of the countries of the far-east; the seat of man's earliest civilization.

of symbolism, but perhaps somewhat later, are the deified heroes found occasionally on the Greek coinage. These are nearly all *heads;* but *full figures* occur occasionally, at this period, which become more common afterwards, and some of them are highly pictorial in character, such, for instance, as the Ajax on the coins of the Opuntian Locris; and some of the designs of the gold coinage of Tarentum; of which I may cite, as an example, Taras, the son of Neptune, the founder of the city, riding on a dolphin. The hero Leucaspis, is found on the coins of Syracuse; an exquisite figure of a Nymph on the coins of Terena; and there are many other examples; yet they are much less numerous than the *heads*. Such personages, when they appear on coins, must also be considered as divinities; but there are divinities of two classes—those worshipped as heroes, were considered εναγιζειν, those considered gods were θυειν, the former corresponding to the saints of the Roman Catholic calendar. Among those belonging to the "Hero worship," are Ajax, on the coins of the Opuntian Locris, the hero Byzas, the founder of Byzantium, and the hero Leucaspis of the Sicilian coinage, &c.

To this second period belong also the occasional historical representations, which are, however, very rare. But when they occur they are highly interesting, and exhibit early forms of civilization in a very instructive manner; as an instance, I may refer to a Thessalian coin. Upon this coin of the Aenianes, a people of Thessaly, a figure hurling a stone from that primitive weapon, the sling, is found. It alludes to the circumstance of Phœnicus, the leader of the Aenianes, slaying Hyperochus, the leader of the Inachians, with that weapon. The claims of these two tribes to the territory was to be decided by single combat, when Phœnicus, observing that his adversary was followed by a dog, called out that it was unfair, and whilst the unwary Hyperochus attempted to drive away his dog, Phœnicus took such true aim that his opponent was slain by the blow. This event is found recorded on the money of the descendants of that people.

The semi-historical type of triumphal cars of two and four horses—*bigæ* and *quadrigæ*, belong also to this second period, and refer possibly to national triumphs at the great Hellenic festival of the Olympic games; which the Grecian colonists from Italy, Sicily, Africa, and Asia, continued to attend, regardless even of the sea-voyage and the risks which must have attended it in the then early stage of the science of navigation. The Sicilians were probably celebrated for their breed of horses, as the quadriga, and biga, are found more frequently on their coins than those of any other people; forming almost the national type of the Syracusans. They are not found on the Macedonian coins, till Philip II. placed a biga on the reverse of his celebrated gold coins, the well-known Philips. That the device in this instance was selected to commemorate his victories at the Olympic games is proved by the remark of Plutarch, who, in his life of Alexander, states that he ridiculed the vanity of his father in recording his victories at the Olympic games upon his coins.

That the Sicilian type was also in direct allusion to those celebrated games appears proved by the group of rich armour by which the quadriga is accompanied on some of them, with the inscription ΑΘΛΑ (prizes).† Corresponding representations of these four-horse chariots are found depicted with extraordinary spirit on the ancient vases of Agrigentum, where they always occupy a prominent and striking position.

Colonel Leake* is of opinion that these types refer to the periodic festivals or games

* On the coinage of Syracuse. † See Plate 3, No. 7, under cuirass.

held in honour of the particular deities represented on the coins; and that it was at those periods that new coins were issued—those bearing the effigy of Diana, at the festival of Diana, &c. &c.

The third series of Grecian types may be said to refer to deified princes, such as Alexander the Great, as Hercules; and sometimes as Jupiter Ammon; Lysimachus, as the horned Bacchus, an account of which will be found at page 61. Cities, also, were personified and deified about the same period, or soon after, of which the fine *turretted* heads on the coins of Smyrna and Damascus are examples.

The fourth series, or division, may be said to consist of positive portraits—generally those of sovereigns, but occasionally of celebrated persons, of those of princes who must ever, when represented by portraiture, be considered as deified, an account will be found in the chapters on the dynasties of the Lagidæ and the Seleucidæ. Of the manner in which the portraits of celebrated persons were placed upon coins the following brief notice will afford some idea.

PORTRAITS OF EMINENT PERSONS PRESERVED ON COINS.

"What a noble spectacle," exclaims the acute Polybius, "would be a collection of all the images of those men, the fame of whose names and virtues is sounded to posterity!" "*L'inconographie ancienne*," says Visconti, alluding to his own great work, "is about to realize the wish of Polybius." And it is astonishing, as he observes, how numerous are the authentic portraits of the great men of antiquity that have reached us through the revolutions and vicissitudes of ages. But we have only to do, in this work, with those preserved by means of coins. The first thing to be remarked of these portraits is, that they are never cotemporary, though no doubt always taken from records received at the time as authentic, and the greater number belong to the Roman period, though the heads of founders of cities, &c., are found on very early coins.

The town of Amistris, among others, struck portraits of Homer on their coins, though not till a comparatively late epoch, the one engraved by Visconti being of the period of the Antonines. Ios, an island that claimed the glory of containing the tomb of Homer, while Smyrna proclaimed itself the place of his birth, has his portrait on coins of an earlier period.

On the coins of Mytilene the portrait of Sappho is found, which, though without an inscription, the peculiar head-dress called the *mitra*, given generally to the muses, leaves little doubt that it is the portrait of Sappho alluded to by Pollux; who states that the Mytilenians placed the head of Sappho on their coins. The reverse is a lyre with the letters MYTI, for Mytilene. These islanders honoured other celebrated characters born in their island in a similar manner—Theophanes the historian, for instance, and others.

The coins of Teos have the portrait of Anacreon playing on the lyre, but not till a late period. Lacedæmonian copper of the Roman period has the head of Lycurgus, with the inscription ΛΥΚΟΡΓΟΣ.

* And we may consider that the deification of princes, when their portraits were placed upon the coinage, was the origin of the modern idea of the divine right of kings. A fragment of the Greek polytheism which has thus been continued to our own times; for modern sovereigns may thus be said also to appear on coins as gods; so long are the forms of ancient superstition in dying out.

Some of the coins of Byzantium have the head of Byzas, the supposed founder of the city, a beautifully executed head with a helmet resembling that seen in the well-known bust of the Athenian Themistocles.

The portrait of Euclid, the pupil of Socrates, is found on the coins of Megara, with the veil or head-dress, called *rica*, which Aulus Gellius records that he wore, as a disguise, when he went, contrary to law, to listen to the discourses of Socrates, at Athens.

On some of the coins of Cos, the head of Xenophon, of Cos, a celebrated physician, descended from Æsculapius, appears; and a well-executed figure of the goddess Hygiæa occupies the reverse.

A LIST OF SOME OF THE MORE REMARKABLE TYPES OCCURRING ON GREEK COINS.

Miletus, in Ionia, has a lion turning towards a star, a type which must have been a well-known and generally accepted symbol of the place; as it frequently occurs without any name of a magistrate, or even the initial of the city.

Smyrna has the leopard. This, and the lion of Miletus, are quite heraldic in character. This type occurs on an early gold coin, engraved in Pellerin. Later coins of Smyrna have the lion, the griffon, the bison (or humped ox, as Pellerin calls it), the dolphin, the eagle, and the bee. The bee, perhaps, is a symbol adopted in consequence of an alliance with the Ephesians, being one of their national types.

Teos has a griffon and a bunch of grapes, which is also a common symbol on coins of other places.

Dardanus has the symbol of a fighting cock. Pliny speaks of games at Pergamus, where combats of cocks were a principal feature.

Assos, a town of Æolia (Asia Minor), has a fine coin, sometimes with a wheat-ear. It was celebrated for its grain. The Persian kings, according to Strabo, procured corn from this place for the bread of the royal table, as they did their wine from Syria, and their water from the river Euleus.

Iassus, in Caria, has an interesting device on its coins, the origin of which is the legend of the youth who played with a dolphin in the sea, till it became so fond of him that it endeavoured to follow him to the land, and died on the shore.

Halicarnassus, the capital of Caria, celebrated for the tomb of Mausolus, erected by his wife, Artemisia, has on its coins a fine head of Apollo on the obverse, and Minerva on the reverse. The head of Apollo is fine, and is a full face.

Cnidus, so celebrated for its statue of Venus, by Praxiteles, that travellers went expressly to see it, has the head of Venus on its coins.

Xanthus, in Lycia, has a double cornucopiæ. A lyre seems to be the principal symbol of Lycia, with a head of Apollo on the obverse.

Athens.—The earliest coins of Athens have simply the owl, a symbol of Minerva. At a later period the head of Minerva assumes its place, and afterwards the owl appears again, as a reverse. On Athenian coins of a late period a view of the Acropolis occurs. The rock is shown with a steep flight of steps cut in it, at the top of which, is a colossal figure of Minerva, and two temples. Another late Athenian coin has two cariatides, back to back, supporting a portion of an architrave, just

as Vitruvius saysthe Greeks arranged them in great edifices. Another, has Theseus combating the Minotaur, the monster being represented as a man with a bull's head. Pausanius relates that there was a painting of this subject in the citadel of Athens.

Tenedos, an island mentioned in the siege of Troy, has symbols on its coins similar to those of early Rome, namely, a double-fronted head, similar to the Roman Janus, but which in this case appears to be a combined Jupiter and Juno. The reverse has a double-headed axe. Some have thought this circumstance an evidence of the fabled Trojan origin of Rome.

Melos has on later coins a melon, or rather *apple*, and sometimes a branch of thyme.

A Thessalian coin, described by Strœber, in his "Numismata nonulla Græca ex Museo Regis Bavariæ," has a juvenile head, shown with full face on the obverse, and on the reverse a female figure on horseback, holding a torch. This figure has been considered by Eckhel to represent Ceres; Strœber thought it a river Diana; but M. Raoul Rochette, on better grounds, supposes it to be a Luna equestris, an ancient deity of Thessaly.

Cyzicus, in Mysia, has for types, a lion, and Proserpine.

Meletopolis. An owl, with two bodies and one head.

A coin of Pergamus, with a bull's head, has the letters ΜΩΔΑΙΩΝ, which would appear to belong to a people or town of that name, says Pellerin; but on another coin of Pergamus the name of a magistrate, ΜΩΔΑΙΩ, occurs, which shows that such was the name on Pellerin's coin.

Many Macedonian coins have a lion, walking, in allusion to the worship of Hercules, the tutelary deity of Macedonian kings.

Cos has, on some of its coins, a magnificent head of Hercules.

Eubea (the island) has fine large coins with a beautiful head, and on the reverse a female sitting on the prow of a vessel.

Samosates, a town of Commagene, a district of Syria, has fine coins bearing a lion and a plant for devices, which Spanheim supposes to be a plant called commagene, known in medicine, and named after the country which produces it.

Europa and the Bull, are found on some coins of the Byzantine Amisces; and on those of Amphipolis, also, we find the fable of Europa well represented.

Abdera, in Thrace, appears to have a griffin for type, the emblem of the Teians, who no doubt brought it with them in establishing their colony in that country.

Byzantium adopted a crescent moon, and a star, as a device on its coins, after they had been preserved, by a sudden appearance of the moon, from a nocturnal surprise attempted by the besieging army of Philip. It is singular to find the same symbol adopted by the Turks, the latest conquerors of the ancient Byzantium, under its modern name of Constantinople.

Illium, occupying the site of the ancient Troy, has on some of its later coins Æneas bearing his father, Anchises, from the burning city.

Cydonia, in Crete, has on its coins Miletus suckled by a wolf, which may prove that the legend is not originally a Roman one.

Late coins of Thasus have sometimes, for type, Hercules, in the act of drawing his bow; the obverse being a fine head of Jupiter.

Corcyra (Corfu). The ancient type of this place was a cow and calf; but afterwards, the devices on its coins became very various. Dyrrhachium was a colony of Corcyra, and adopted the old type of the cow and calf for its coins.

Cnos, the ancient capital of Crete, has generally a figure of the Minotaur, represented as a man with a bull's head, on its coins of a certain period, and on the reverse, the plan of a labyrinth, a device common on most Cretan coins.

Such are but a very few of the most interesting of the types found on Grecian coins; there are many others of equal interest, which it would be impossible in this place to notice. I must content myself, therefore, with the selection made, however imperfect it may be.

FINAL OBSERVATIONS ON GREEK TYPES.

In concluding these incomplete observations on Greek types, it may be as well to recapitulate the succession of the different classes, as I suppose them to have succeeded each other—first, the mere symbol or emblem of the local deity; next, the personification of the deities themselves; next, the personification of heroes connected with the origin of the states; and, lastly, that of princes and celebrated persons. But all these later types were generally accompanied by the original emblems, which, however, gradually sink into a more and more subordinate position. Thus we see the dolphins surrounding the head of Proserpine on the coins of Syracuse, though secondary, are still very conspicuous; while, about a century later, the small bee that appears on the coins of Alexander the Great, struck at Ephesus, is altogether insignificant and subordinate to the new types. But these rules are far from invariable, as some cities preserved their ancient symbolic types as the principal device on their money, till the latest period of the independent Greek coinage.

GREEK ART AS EXHIBITED ON THE COINAGE.

Even in the infancy of the art of coinage, we may observe a certain grandeur and fine proportion in the symbols by which the coins are distinguished. The lion's head, on the early Lydian gold coin (No. 1, Plate 1) is, though produced by a few bold touches only, very effective, and the expression striking. While the bull and lion, on the early gold of Sardis (Plate 1, No. 3), is already artistic in its simple grandeur and composition. The rude tortoise of the first epoch on the Æginetan money (Plate 1, No. 5) is in such bold relief as to form a striking object, notwithstanding its imperfect execution; and in the stage immediately following (Plate 1, No. 6), a really fine and effective coin is produced. Not long afterwards, in the coin of Alexander I. of Macedon, a knowledge of grouping already displays itself, which in other Macedonian coins of the period is still more remarkable. This was about 500 years before the Christian era, probably about two centuries after the origin of the art, so that the progress was very rapid; indeed, if we compare it to the development of the same art in other countries, under other circumstances, we shall find it truly astonishing. Take, for instance, the permanent establishment of an Anglo-Saxon coinage in England, about the year 800 of our era, and even in the twelfth century, after a lapse of 400 years, we shall not find it materially improved. After giving it another 200 years, which takes it to the year 1400 of our era, we still find it much in the same condition, with the sole exception of the gold noble of

Edward III., issued about the year 1340 A. D. Thus it appears that near 600 years were required in England to make the first step towards improvement; and indeed, reckoning from the first commencement of an Anglo-Saxon coinage, between 700 and 800 years; while in Greece, 200 years sufficed for the first stages of progress; and another fifty carried the greek coinage, in the age of Pericles and Phidias, to the highest perfection that the art has ever attained; for, though the Roman, and some specimens of recent modern coinage—exceed perhaps the Greek—in the minor quality of neatness; in grandeur, it remains unapproached. Some have thought that the highest rank in Grecian numismatic art, ought to be conceded to the coins of Sicily, and certainly the high finish, exquisitely studied design, and richly-wrought details, as they may be examined in the specimens exhibited in Plate 3, are very fascinating. The same pre-eminence has been claimed by others, for the coins of Magna-Græcia, or Southern Italy; and the elegant and pictorial design of some of the money of that district appears almost to warrant such a decision; for what can be more graceful, and yet simply grand in design, than most of the coins of Tarentum—the one, for instance, with Taras and the dolphin (Plate 3, Fig. 4), or the horseman with a lance, shown at No. 3 of the same plate. Yet, although there is much of catching attraction in these beautiful works of art,—there is a noble unity, a simple undisturbed grandeur about some of the coins of the Grecian peninsula and its Asiatic colonies, that belongs, perhaps, to a yet higher school; for although it is a less finished style, fewer touches seem to produce the effect required. I am speaking of a period ranging from fifty years to a century prior to Alexander the Great, which was undoubtedly the most original and greatest Greek period.

Some of the very finest works appear on coins of the period just prior to the disuse of the square punch mark on the reverse, in the hollow of which, some of the finest specimens of Greek numismatic art are found: on the coins of Bœotia, for example, at the time when the rude national symbol of the buckler still occupied the entire obverse, there is, on the square hollow reverse, a fine figure of most exquisite design; and this remark applies to many other coins of Greece Proper and Asia Minor. As regards the grand simplicity alluded to, I may instance the fine head of Diana on some of the best coins of Ephesus, and an exquisite head of Jupiter Ammon, on a drachma of Cyrene, an unique coin in the British Museum; and a head of Proserpine, on coins of Cyzicus. The exquisitely grand, and yet finished, treatment of the Pegasus, on the coin of Corinth (Plate 5), is a good, though rather over-wrought, example of the style; but the manly and large treatment which I allude to may be, perhaps, as well exhibited on the head of the fine tetradrachm of Alexander the Great (Plate 4, Fig. 4), as on any other specimen; though rather of a late period to exemplify the precise style I allude to, it is yet very grand, and on comparing it with the head of Proserpine, on the Syracusan medallion (Plate 3, No. 8), it will be admitted that the exquisite finish of the latter has given it no real advantage over the broad simple treatment of the noble head of Alexander. I have thought it important to call attention to this distinction in these two styles of art which may be farther pursued by the student. But space compels me here to conclude these brief observations on Greek art, by suggesting that the progress of Greek sculpture may be almost as thoroughly studied in a small cabinet of well-

chosen coins, as in vast galleries of statues; and a careful examination of the few specimens I have been enabled to exhibit in the small compass of this work, will show, in a very interesting manner, the gradual though rapid development of the art, as displayed on coins.

OF THE ENGRAVERS OF GREEK COINS.

Little is known of the exquisite artists who produced the beautiful works I have been endeavouring to describe, but modern research has been sufficiently successful not to leave the subject entirely barren; and the recent discovery of engravers' names on coins, has added a new interest to the study of this branch of archæology. Millin did not know them at all, and wonders that Pliny did not record the names of the engravers of coins as he did those of gems—he thinks it may have been the same branch of art, and therefore in naming a gem engraver a money engraver was also understood. He remarks, however, that *one* name of an engraver occurs on a coin itself, one of Cydonia, in Crete, which has the inscription "made by Neuanthos" (ΝΕΥΑΝΤΟΣ ΕΠΟΕΙ for ΕΠΟΙΕΙ).

M. Raoul Rochette, in the "Journal des Savants" for 1844, has a good article, in which he expresses his astonishment at the apathy of ancient writers on the subject of these engravers who have immortalized themselves, anonymously, in their beautiful works on the coins of the fine times of Greece and her colonies. Engravers of gems are mentioned, says M. Raoul Rochette, and even potters, and the commonest painters of the commonest species of clay vases, have put their names to their works, whilst, with the exception of the solitary name mentioned by Millin—that of the Cretan engraver Neuanthos—no names of coin engravers were known till very recently, when a second was discovered—it is found on the beautiful coin of Clazomene, with the head of Apollo; the principal side has, in small characters, ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ ΕΠΟΕΙ (Theodotus *made*), these characters having hitherto been looked on carelessly, as the name of a magistrate. But their occurrence in a very minute form, and in a most inconspicuous place, prove that they could not be those of a magistrate, which are invariably distinct, and occupy a prominent position; whilst the two names mentioned, and all those I am now about to speak of, are invariably very small, and generally placed in the least conspicuous part of the coin.

M. Raoul Rochette, in the enthusiasm of the early discovery, at one time supposed the larger letters also, when they happened to be the initials of the name of well-known sculptors or gem engravers, to be also artists' signatures; but this he has abandoned. Such letters, when occupying a conspicuous place in *the field*, are doubtless the initials of the names of magistrates, or at all events contain some *public* allusion.

Subsequent researches have since revealed undoubted artistic signatures in addition to the two above mentioned; and thus, quite a new field of interest is opened to numismatic science. The names alluded to refer principally to Syracusan coins, respecting the importance of which city, and its cultivation of the arts, many interesting particulars have been preserved to us by Cicero, who, as Prætor of Sicily, resided at Syracuse. In one of his orations against Verres, who had also enjoyed the lucrative change of Prætor of that island, and was accused of oppression and peculation, he describes the city of Syracuse very minutely. The detailed description he gives, in the first oration in this cause, of the celebrated Greek statues that

Verres had carried away, furnished the Abbé Treguier with the subject of an essay on Greek sculpture, entitled "The Gallery of Verres." Cicero states that the exquisite statue of Apollo, surnamed Temenites, from the Τεμενος, or sacred land attached to it, remained; but only on account of its colossal dimensions, which prevented the spoiler from removing it.

Of the engravers of the coins of this celebrated city, a list of names has been discovered, in the manner I am about to relate, as interesting to the biography of art, as those found on the superb group of the Laocoon, or on the exquisite cameo's and intaglios's Millin has cited in his works on antique gems and their engravers;* such as Agathemeros, the cotemporary of Polycletes; Phrygillos, the engraver of the beautiful gem of Cupid coming out of the egg shell, and others.

Heyne was the first to consider that the engravers of gems had been the engravers of money also; but M. Raoul Rochette adduces many interesting particulars to prove that it was one and the same profession. The celebrated Cameo of Athenion (Winkelman Monum. ined. 19), is the same design as that of a *medal* in the Albani collection, the one being evidently copied from the other, and by the same hand. Pliny gives the same name to engravers of gems as that given in the well-known inscription (published by Marini) to money engravers, *Scalptores* (sacræ monetæ). There is a fine Greek gem of great antiquity (mentioned by Winkelman, of which there is a copy in the Paris Museum, by Pickler), which has the name of Phrygillos, as the sculptor, accompanied by a small open cockle-shell as a symbol, the same as frequently found on Syracusan coins. M. Raoul Rochette considered, therefore, that Phrygillos was a Syracusan sculptor, using a national symbol as his signature mark; and with this point in view, he sought his *name* on the *coins* of Syracuse; at last, on a small medallion with the head of Arethusa, he found ΦΡΥΓΙΛΛΟΣ (ΕΠΟΕΙ), (made by Phrygillos). This coin, formerly in the collection of Mr. J. R. Stewart, of Naples, was purchased by M. Raoul Rochette. A second has since been found, in the collection of the Duc de Luynes; and the initials of the same name have since been discovered on a part of the head-dress of the local nymph Arethusa, ΦΡΥ on a copper coin of the same period, which is of the *size* of the Syracusan gold—and Mr. R. R. thinks it a pattern for gold, struck in copper as an experiment, to try its effect; the execution being more delicate than that usually found on copper coins of the period. It is also in the collection of the Duc de Luynes.

Among these names appears pre-eminently that of Cimon,† singularly enough that of our own most celebrated English coin engraver, whose beautiful petition crown to Charles I. is so well known to collectors of modern coins; being sought by them, even at the enormous prices approaching £200, which these pieces frequently sell for. Among the other names found are those of Evænetus, Phrygillos, Euthyme, Eumenes, and Euclides, who were cotemporary, each having engraved obverses or reverses for the other. The highly-finished piece of Evænetus (Plate 3, No. 9), is a piece of twenty litræ (a tetradrachm), on which his name appears as EVAI on one of the dolphins of the obverse, but in full, as EVAINETO, on

* Millin also gives a list of Roman gem engravers, who were doubtless engravers of coins also, and whose names may, perhaps, yet be found on their works; such as Ælius, author of a head of Tiberius, Aguilas, of the Venus in the bath; and others, whose well-known works have been engraved by Raspe.

† Perhaps more properly Kimon.

the tablet in our impression. "The tablet on the reverse (says Col. Leake), which would almost appear to designate Evænetus as the victor in the games, *may* be a purse containing coins;" which is possible; that is to say, a portion of the prize gained, consisting of money, may have been new coins, the work of the celebrated engraver, whose productions were no doubt highly prized by the refined Syracusans. Evænetus put his name even on coins as small as the pentalitron, or drachma; and it is found on the one which has the hero Leucaspis for reverse. Some of these coins are extant, bearing the name of the engraver, Eumenes, on the opposite side.

The medallions with Cimon's name, under the head of Proserpine, have the same reverse as those of Evænetus, which must be considered as the work of that artist, or a close copy, seeming to prove that, although the heads by Kimon are more florid, which would suggest a later date, yet that the artists must have been cotemporary. There are gold coins of both these engravers in the national collection in Paris. Eumenes, it has been shown, was also a cotemporary, and all flourished, as proved by the internal evidence of the coins, in the character of the inscription &c., to have been from about 403 to 360 B. C. The medallion, Plate 3, No. 8, has the name of Kimon, on a dolphin, beneath the head. Some Syracusan coins have the name of another engraver, Euclideas.

On coins where the name of the engraver occurs in the nominative case, the word ϵηοίϵί (made by) must be understood, as in case of the name of a king in the nominative case, the word νοῦμμος or στατηρ.

Cimon appears to have engraved both before and after Evænetus, as his early works are very severe in style, and in high relief, while his late works are of much more delicate character, and more graceful execution, though scarcely so noble—a style which his rival, Evænetus, does not appear to have reached. Both these engravers appear to have flourished towards the end of the reign of Dionysius I., probably about 406 B. C., and their style is evidently founded on that of the school of Phidias.

The front faces found on Sicilian coins by Euclideas and Cimon, assist in determining their date; for it was a custom of short duration, probably on account of the great wear of the most important parts of the face, such as the nose, mouth, &c. Alexander of Pheræ, and Mausolus of Caria, have both beautiful coins of this character. The former died 357 B. C., the latter 353 B. C.,* so that the coins of Catana Crotona, Amphipolis, &c., by the celebrated Sicilian engravers above named would appear, both by the art and this collateral evidence, to belong to about the period I have suggested.

* The coins of Rhodes, on Plate 4, may be somewhat later.

CHAPTER XV.

THE COINS OF PALESTINE,* THE HEBREW SHEKEL.

WHEN the Jews, at a very late period, adopted coined money, in imitation of the Greeks, a character of type was adopted founded upon the religious history of the nation, and therefore quite distinct in character from those of other nations. The style of execution was peculiar also, and I have, therefore, placed my short account of these interesting coins, as a sort of episode between those of Greece and those of Rome. Pinkerton did not believe in the genuineness of Jewish shekels, and therefore wished to exclude them from cabinets; but subsequent study and discovery, have shown that clever but superficial numismatist, to have been mistaken.

These shekels are generally of the weight of two Attic drachmæ, being of the same weight as the Alexandrian drachma of the Ptolemies; and there are half shekels of one Attic drachma. But these facts are at variance with a precise passage of Josephus, which states that the shekel weighed *four* Attic drachmæ; and this is a difficulty which has not yet been satisfactorily explained. But in order to understand the rise and progress of Jewish money, we must take a rapid glance at the rise of the nation as a political power.

After the death of Moses, about 1451 B. C., Joshua became the acknowledged chief of the Jewish people, and his energy it was, that first created their national importance, and first gave to them political power. But immediately after his time, much anarchy and confusion arose, and they became several times subjected to the rule of different neighbouring nations. During intervals, however, they were governed independently by their judges, till David, a shepherd of the tribe of Judah, ascended the throne 1085, and died 1015 B. C. He was succeeded by Solomon, who died 970 B. C., and this was the great epoch of Jewish grandeur. The laws of this prince were sought and venerated in distant nations, and his fame as a ruler has never been exceeded. The tribes separated into two kingdoms, under the tyranny of his son Rehoboam. The ten tribes, called Israel, were conquered and taken into captivity by Salmanazar, King of Assyria, about 728 B. C., and the subjugation of the two other tribes of Judah and Benjamin soon followed, under Nebuchadnezzar, about 600 B. C.

Cyrus having established the great Persian empire on the ruins of that of Assyria, about 536 B. C., allowed the Jews, on payment of annual tributes, to return and re-establish themselves as a nation, and to rebuild Jerusalem and its temple. They were still subject to the Persians at the time of the conquest of that country by Alexander the Great, about 330 B. C. During the Persian domination, the high

* So called from the Philistines, who settled on the coast between Phœnicia and Egypt.

priests exercised the chief political authority among the Jews. At the death of Alexander and the division of his vast empire among his captains, Seleucus obtained Syria, with other possessions, while in addition to Egypt, Ptolemy received Palestine. But lying between Syria and Egypt it eventually became a bone of contention between the sovereigns of those states, and great devastation was committed on both sides. The Egyptian prince taking Jerusalem, and carrying to Egypt 100,000 captives, whom he dispersed over the country, especially at Cyrene, where they became a powerful and influential race, adopting the Grecian language, which under the Ptolemies had become that of Egypt, at least of the superior classes. For these Egyptian Jews it was, that Ptolemy Philadelphus caused the Hebrew scriptures to be translated into Greek—a version now known as the Septuagint, from the translation being made under the superintendence of seventy learned men. The greater portion of Palestine eventually remained under the Greek kings of Syria; but it retained its old laws, until Antiochus Epiphanes wishing to change them, as well as the religion of the country, and prosecuting his intentions with unheard of cruelties, eventually caused a rebellion. Mattathias, and the chief priest and ruler, and afterwards the celebrated Judas Maccabeus, his son, headed the revolt, and succeeded in establishing a sort of independence. Judas was succeeded by Jonathan, and then appeared Simon, to whom the Syrian monarch, Antiochus, son of Demetrius, accorded the privilege of striking money, a virtual acknowledgment of his independence.

Before describing these Jewish coins I will briefly trace the fate of Palestine, in a few words, till it became a Roman province, as after the Roman conquests in Asia I shall no longer have to speak of the coins of separate nations, but of the Roman money only, which became that of the whole civilized world, with very few exceptions.

To Simon Maccabeus succeeded John Hircanus, surnamed Aristobulus, who assumed the title of king. Alexander Jannæus was the next king, and during the life of his sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, Pompey the Great subdued the whole country to the Roman power, and placed Hyrcanus, who had been deposed by Aristobulus, on the throne; but afterwards, Phraates, King of Parthia, restored a son of Aristobulus. Soon afterwards, Marc Antony favoured the pretensions of Herod, surnamed the Great, who was an Idumean by birth. During the reign of Herod, as is well known, Jesus Christ was born. Augustus divided the kingdom between two sons of Herod, but afterwards displaced them, and the Roman proconsul of Syria was made ruler also of the country of the Jews. Under their successive Roman governors they revolted several times, till under Vespasian, Titus besieged and utterly destroyed Jerusalem, which is the last catastrophe to be recorded of the Jews; for, as a nation, they ceased to exist, and 100,000 of the chief inhabitants of their capital city, toiled to erect in slavery, at Rome, the wonderful Colosseum, the greatest remaining marvel of Rome; while it is stated that one million perished during the siege.

Whether the use of the ancient shekel as *weighed* money gave way before the more convenient coined money that was introduced to Syria by the Greeks; or whether it was continued in use till Antiochus Sidetes gave written permission to Simon Maccabeus to coin independent or autonomous money for Judea; is a point

not likely to be settled by archæologists, at present. I may therefore at once proceed to describe, as the first Jewish coined money, that of Simon Maccabeus, about 144 B. C., which is the earliest known. The types of these coins, though but rudely executed, are highly characteristic; on one side we have the sacred cup of manna, in allusion to the passage in which God directs Moses to fill the cup called *omer** with manna, that it might be kept before the people in generations to come, and that they might know the bread by which they had been fed in the wilderness.† On the other side, the rod of Aaron is represented by a small branch or rod with three flowers. This is an allusion to the twelve rods or sceptres which were ordered for the twelve tribes, and were placed in the arch of the temple; when, in the morning the one which bore the name of Aaron was found covered with leaves and almond flowers. The inscriptions were "Schekel Israël" (שקל'ישראל) "Shekel of Israel;" and on the reverse "Ierouschalim kedoschah" (ירושלתקדשמ') "Jerusalem the holy," (see Plate VII., Nos. 10 and 11). Others have, in similar characters, "half shekel," with the same reverse as the preceding. Others have "the first year of the deliverance of Israel," others, "the redemption of Sion," in commemoration of the taking of the citadel of Sion by the Jews in the second year of the independent government of Simon. Others, again, have "Scheschimeon Maschi Israël" (שכיקל בש'א'שקאל) (sic) "Simon Prince of Israel," &c. &c.

The writing is not, as given here, in the cursive Hebrew characters, adopted by the Jews after their return from their Babylonian captivity, but in the ancient character, closely allied to the Phœnician, and which was preserved by the Samaritans, who refused to adopt the new style, and who were therefore enabled at a comparatively recent period to read the inscriptions on the ancient shekels; as is evidenced by the following passage from a Jewish traveller of the thirteenth century of our era; the Rabban, Moses Ben Nachman. He writes "I arrived at Acre, and found in the hands of the ancient people of the country, a silver money, graven in the manner of a signet, on one side of which was like to a branch of an almond tree, and the other an amphora‡ with a very distinct legend on both fronts. They showed this legend to the Cuthéens (Samaritans), who immediately deciphered it. These Cuthéens have indeed preserved the ancient Hebrew writing. They read then on one side, *the shekel of shekels*, and on the other *Jerusalem the holy*, and they explained the first type as by the rod of Aaron, garnished with almond flowers, and the second as the vase destined to receive the manna." Their mistake in the first legend is easily accounted for, when we consider the frequent mistakes in the engraving of these coins; and that the characters in which they were engraved were not understood perhaps by the engravers of the time, themselves; but the ancient character was adopted doubtless by the Sacerdotal rulers of Judea, to give additional sacredness to the inscription.

It seems that on the adoption of the new cursive style, now generally known as the Hebrew character, the ancient one was still preserved for monumental inscriptions on stone, or bronze; but the new and more regular style was adopted for manuscripts.

* A cup holding about five pints.

† "And Moses said this is the thing that the Lord commandeth, fill an omer of it to be kept for your generations, that they may see the bread wherewith I have fed you in the wilderness.—Exo. c. xvi., v. 32

‡ The device on the later pieces is more like an amphora.

Many other types occur on these shekels, such as the two trumpets, the lyre, the six-branched candlestick, the ear of wheat, the vine, the flower of the pomegranate, &c. The pomegranate formed part of the ornament on the hem of the robe of the ephod, and was, as well as the ears of corn and bunches of grapes, among the ornaments of massive gold enriching the table which Ptolemy Philadelphus presented to the temple of Jerusalem—ornaments no doubt suggested as appropriate by the learned Jews settled at Alexandria and Cyrene.

No gold money of Simon is known, nor had the cotemporary King of Syria any, though I have recently heard of an unique gold coin of Alexander Bala; so that Shakespeare was no numismatist when he spoke of "fond shekels of the tested gold."

At first, the pieces of Simon were occasionally dated from the year of independence, in imitation of the custom adopted by the kings of Egypt and Syria; and some of the coins of Simon have *Schenal Schousch*, the third year, but there are none with a date later than the fourth. Those of his pieces dated the fourth year, are only found of bronze. It would appear, as M. Le Normand suggests, by the different execution of the types on coins of the style of those of Simon, that many of them are of a later period; which is also proved by a decrease of weight in accordance with the change of value, and perhaps relative scarcity of the precious metals. That the Jews continued at intervals to strike money in imitation of that of the glorious epoch of Simon and Judas Maccabeus, and that none appears with a later date than the fourth year, appears to be accounted for by a wish to preserve a lively recollection of that most brilliant period of their later history. Numismatists are well acquainted with parallel cases in the history of money, when the name or portrait of the founder of the dynasty continues to appear on the coins of all his successors.*

The successors of Simon assumed the title of king; they placed Greek as well as Hebrew inscriptions on their coins, and also their portraits; which was against the mosaic law, strictly observed on all the coins of Simon. Some very small bronze coins exist of Alexander Jannæus. None have been discovered which can be attributed to Hyrcanus nor Aristobulus, but some copper of Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, are known. Herod the Great, though he reigned thirty-four years, coined but little money, and the few copper coins of his that are known are among the greatest numismatic varieties. The engraving below is a specimen; the inscription is

in Greek, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ (of the King Herod.) The star between olive branches, on the reverse of this coin of Herod, has been supposed by some to be the star

* Those of Pergamus are of this class, on which the portrait of the founder of Dynasty, Philetærus, appears on the coins of all his successors (see page 96.)

of Bethlehem, but, though a singular coincidence, the type cannot be thus interpreted.

After Herod, the Roman money circulated in Judea, and we learn from the evangelists, that the money circulating in Palestine bore the "image and superscription of Cæsar." These were no doubt Roman coins of Tiberius, which must have been in circulation at that time. Coins of the Hebraic types are found, with the names of Nero and Britannicus, which must have been struck about the year 54 or 55 of our era. About the year 131 A.D., the revolt of Bachocébas took place, who appears to have struck money after the old types, and with the ancient Hebrew inscriptions; these coins are frequently struck over the types of a Roman Denarius. The revolt was most completely subdued, and after this time we have no trace of money being struck with the Hebrew types.

I shall allude again to the coins of Palestine, as part of the Roman province of Syria.*

* See reign of Tiberius, in Chapter XVII.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ROMAN REPUBLICAN COINAGE.

ORIGIN OF THE ROMAN UNCIAL COINAGE OF COPPER, AND THAT OF THE NEIGHBOURING ITALIAN STATES.

AS the political and military institutions of the Romans have influenced the destinies of the whole civilized world; so the Roman adoption of a national and exclusive copper coinage produced a revolution in the monetary system of all civilized nations; for as the Roman conquests spread, we find the gold and silver coinages of other countries disappearing, and the Roman copper, with Roman weights and values, taking their places, and that with a rapidity truly astonishing.

It becomes, therefore, highly interesting to trace the origin of the uncial copper coinage of Rome; Mr. Millingen and M. Le Normand, two of the best and most recent authorities upon the subject, both consider the Romans, and not the Etrurians, to have been its inventors. Etruria, the Tyrrhenia of the Greeks, the Etruria and Tuscia of the Romans, had coins of the Greek style, in silver; those of Populonia being of peculiar fabric, quite smooth on one side; and the few massive copper coins of the uncial class, belonging to Etruria, are evidently of later date than the Roman ones.

That copper should have been the standard metal of the early Roman coinages, is accounted for by its plenty both in Italy and Sicily, and the scarcity of the more precious metals—facts fully corroborated by the evidence of many ancient authors. We have the testimony of Homer that as early as his time, Temesa, in Italy, exported copper; and it was found, according to Pliny, both in Campania and Etruria. Copper is still produced in Sicily from mines near Castro Giovanni, the ancient Enna.

But though to the Romans must be allowed the invention of the massive copper coinage of the ÆS or AS, of twelve ounces, and its divisions; the high antiquity, assigned to it by Pliny, and also by more recent writers, is disputed as not being borne out by the character of the monuments themselves. Yet the testimony of Pliny, now thrown over by modern numismatists on the asserted superior testimony of monuments—that is the coins themselves—should not be too hastily abandoned; for he lived nearly sixteen hundred years nearer than we do, to the occurrence of the circumstances which he describes. When, therefore, he asserts that Numa coined the first money; we ought to observe that he omits to draw a distinction between weighed money, and money passing by tale; and it is, therefore, to money of the former character that he may possibly allude; for it is very probable, copper being the most plentiful metal of the country, that a tradition existed in Pliny's time, to the effect that one of the first kings of Rome, arranged a currency of copper; just as other nations had done of silver; but which was passed by *weight*, like the money of other countries in the infancy of their civilization.* Thus, the semi-fabulous Numa, or some early prince, may have originated the As, as a monetary weight, though not the As itself,

* See origin of money, Chapter III.

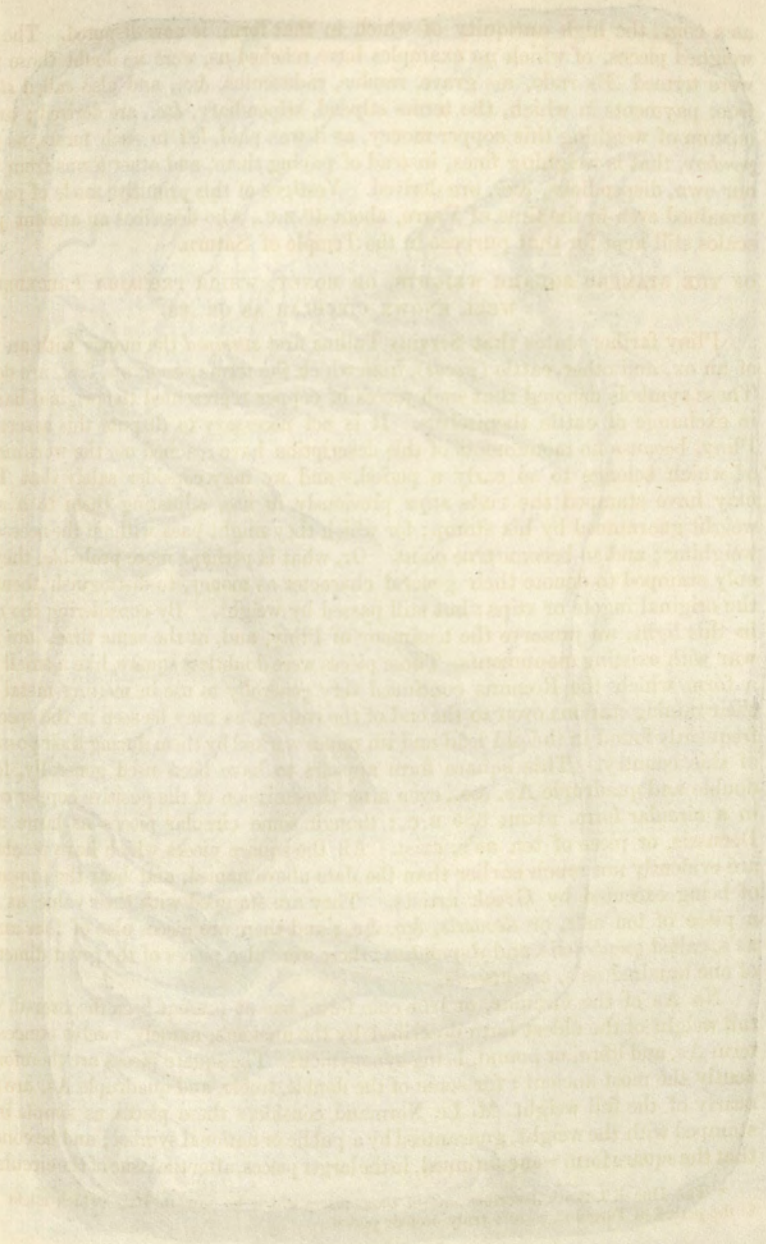
as a coin; the high antiquity of which in that form, is now disputed. The early weighed pieces, of which no examples have reached us, were no doubt those which were termed Æs rude, æs grave, raudus, radusculus, &c., and also called *stips*,—from payments in which, the terms stipend, stipendiary, &c., are derived; and the custom of weighing this copper money, as it was paid, led to such terms, as *pænas pendere*, that is weighing fines, instead of paying them, and other terms from which our own, dispendious, &c., are derived. Vestiges of this primitive mode of payment remained even in the time of Varro, about 40 B.C., who describes an ancient pair of scales still kept for that purpose in the Temple of Saturn.

OF THE STAMPED SQUARE WEIGHTS, OR MONEY, WHICH PROBABLY PRECEDED THE WELL KNOWN CIRCULAR AS OR ÆS.

Pliny farther states that Servius Tullius first *stamped* the money with an image of an ox, and other cattle (*pecus*), from which the terms *pecuniary*, &c., are derived. These symbols denoted that such pieces of copper represented the original barter or in exchange of cattle themselves. It is not necessary to dispute this assertion of Pliny, because no monuments of this description have reached us, the workmanship of which belongs to so early a period,* and we may consider safely that Tullius may have stamped the rude *stips* previously in use, adjusting them to a special weight guaranteed by his stamp; for which they might pass without the necessity of weighing; and so become true coins. Or, what is perhaps more probable, they were only stamped to denote their general character as money, to distinguish them from the original ingots or stips; but still passed by weight. By considering the matter in this light, we preserve the testimony of Pliny, and, at the same time, are not at war with existing monuments. These pieces were doubtless square, like a small brick, a form which the Romans continued very generally to use in melting metal at all their mining stations even to the end of the empire, as may be seen in the specimens frequently found in the old lead and tin mines worked by them during their possession of this country. This square form appears to have been used generally, for the double and quadruple As, &c., even after the emission of the positive copper *coinage* in a circular form, about 385 B.C.; though some circular pieces as large as the Decussis, or piece of ten as's, exist. All the square pieces which have reached us, are evidently not much earlier than the date above named, and bear the appearance of being executed by Greek artists. They are stamped with their value, as X for a piece of ten as's, or *decussis*, &c. &c.; and there are pieces also of four and two as's, called *quadrussis*, and *dupondius;* there were also pieces of the great dimensions of one hundred as's, a *centussis*.

No As of the circular, or true coin form, has at present been discovered, of the full weight of the oldest form described by the ancients, namely, twelve ounces; the term As, and libra, or pound, being synonymous. The square pieces are therefore evidently the most ancient; for some of the double, treble, and quadruple As, are found nearly of the full weight. M. Le Normand considers these pieces as simple ingots, stamped with the weight, guaranteed by a public or national symbol; and he considers that the square form was continued, in the larger pieces, after the issue of the circular As,

* The Duc di Luynes describes *one* of these pieces which he saw in Italy (which might belong to the period of Tarquin), as of a truly archaic period.



THE SQUARE QUINCUNX, FORMERLY IN THE PEMBROKE COLLECTION.—(WEIGHING 4 LBS., 9 OZS., 11 DWTS., 38 GRS.)

for the convenience of stowage; especially when a quantity of metal, in bronze armour, &c., was taken from the enemy; when it was coined in this manner, as the most compact, either for the national Ærium, or for removal. None of the designs on these pieces belong to the archaic period of art, but are probably modified copies from older pieces. The Duc de Luynes states that he has seen in Italy one of the older archaic pieces themselves, to which a high antiquity may be assigned, possibly even the age of Servius Tullius, 530 B.C. Which would still leave even these rude square pieces of Roman coin more modern than the first incused silver money of the Greeks of Sybaris.

At the triumph of S. Papirius Cursor over the Samnites, 295 B.C., 233,000 pounds of brass were brought to Rome, and only 1330 pounds of silver; though the Samnites were then more luxurious than the Romans. M. Le Normand supposes all this copper to have been coined into the square Æs grave, previous to its being placed in the public Ærium. Some of the square pieces known, have two fowls feeding, which would seem to refer to this great victory over the Samnites. The pullarii, keepers of the sacred fowls, having on that day declared the augury unfavourable, the consul exclaimed, after the death of the augur, in the beginning of the battle—"The gods are now with us;" and so turned the tide of victory. The representation of the fowls, on the pieces referred to, may prove it to be part of the spoil captured on that occasion; which was cast into ingots, or rather coin, of the form in question.

The best specimen of this massive ingot money, in England, was the piece recently sold in the Pembroke Collection,—a quincunx,* or five As piece, having a finely-executed ox for impress or type. It weighs 4 lbs., 9 ozs., 11 dwts., 3 grains, giving it above 11½ ozs. to the As—and is, therefore, of higher antiquity than any of the uncial money of the circular form; the heaviest of which does not exceed about 9½ ozs. to the As. To render this inference perfectly clear to the student, I may state that As, originally a pound of twelve ounces, gradually decreased, until it weighed scarcely half-an-ounce. Therefore, the heaviest pieces of each denomination of this series, are indubitably the most ancient. But it is time to proceed to the consideration of the issue of the As and its fractional parts in the circular, or true coin form. Coin,† however, is an improper term, as far as *fabric* is concerned, inasmuch as they were not struck with the *cuneus*, or wedge-like punch, but *cast*.

THE ROMAN REPUBLICAN COINAGE CONTINUED.—OF THE AS GRAVE AND ITS SUBDIVISIONS, IN THE CIRCULAR FORM.

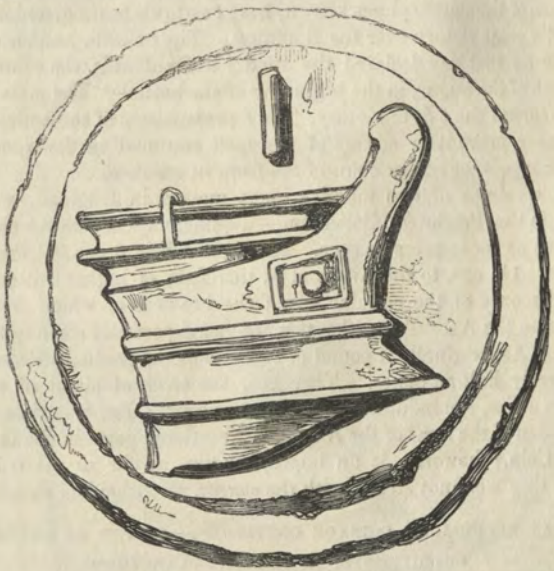
This grand coinage, once thought to have been imported from Etruria, whence the Romans drew so many of the arts of civilization, is now universally considered to have originated with the Romans themselves, as the Roman series alone contains those of the heaviest dimensions, which are indubitably the earliest. It also contains the greatest number of varieties of weight and style of work, showing the longest continuance; which must have been, from the nature of these evidences, some centuries. The As's of other districts only possess these characteristics in a less degree, from which it would appear that they followed, and did not precede the Roman

* It has been called a quadrussis on account of the type, which is the one usually found on pieces of that denomination, but the weight is nearer that of the quincunx.

† See page 99.

emission of the As grave and its parts, as coins—in short, that they were imitations. The roughness of the style of the Roman As, M. Le Normand thinks affected expressly to denote their contempt for the delicacies of art, which several cotemporary events preserved by historians tend to corroborate. About the year 321 B. C., as the power of Rome became dominant in Etruria and Umbria, those countries appear to have issued the As grave as their standard coinage; but not before.

Up to the time of the issue of the circular As, the Romans may be considered to have been without a coinage, as the ingot pieces, whether passing by tale, or weight, could scarcely be considered such. But other great and enterprising people share this reproach with them—they are in good company. The Phœnicians, and their relatives the Carthaginians, had neither of them any other coined money than that which they struck in their colonies, by the aid of Greek artists of the neighbouring Hellenic cities.



THE REVERSE OF THE AS GRAVE.

The Romans first struck silver A. U. C. (in the year of the city) 485, and it is probable that the issue of the great copper coinage did not by very long precede it, for the workmanship of the copper As grave though rude, it is not *archaic*, but evidently belongs to a time when art was well understood, and when good models existed in the neighbouring Greek cities of the south. The rudeness of the Roman copper being partly owing to its mode of fabrication, namely, by means of *casting*, as above alluded to, a process probably effected in clay moulds; while the Greek coins, which suggested the style of art and high relief, were struck in highly-finished metal dies.

The Romans adopted copper,* as a material which the country afforded, and

* Eusebius states that the foot measure of the Romans was also called *As*—and that the first As's as money, were of wood or shells.

self-reliance for the materials of necessity, was one of the great principles of their policy; so that, as the Spartans at one time are said to have adopted iron money, the Romans, who have been otherwise compared to that people, adopted copper, in contempt of the gold and silver of their neighbours; which they were aquainted with, but would not adopt. For, according to Festus, foreign money of gold and silver circulated in Rome, in the earliest periods. But it is not from *early* Greek coins that the style of the As is copied, it is evidently derived from Greek art in its highest period, and neither from the early incused pieces of Magna-Græcia, nor the early globular pieces of Sicily, but from the flatter pieces with types in high relief of a much later epoch. The piece of metal, of the As, is thicker in the middle, independent of the type, and gets gradually thinner at the edge; though rough, they are not rude, and are the work of an artist capable of finishing, if he chose; and upon a close appreciation of these evidences, M. Le Normand

THE OBVERSE OF THE AS GRAVE.

considers their origin to belong to about the time of the taking of Rome by the Gauls, 385 B. C., possibly even a few years later than that period.

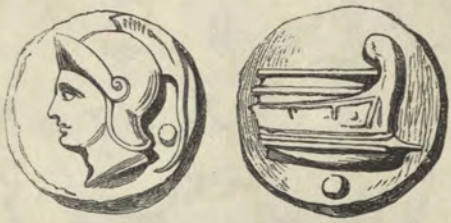
The true Roman types of the first issues of the As are the bifrons, or two-faced Janus; and the prow of a vessel; of which the woodcut will convey a good idea. The As is distinguished by the numeral I over the ship, while the nominal weight of the smaller pieces is shown by knobs or dots, one for each ounce. This coin has been drawn from a specimen in the British Museum.

It is one of the earliest known, but does not reach the original weight of twelve ounces, weighing only nine and a half; but it is possibly the earliest ever struck of the circular form, the weight having possibly been reduced at the time of the transition from the ingot form, to that of the circular, coin form; some of the square pieces of the latest style being found of nearly full weight.

The double-faced Janus is often confounded with Saturn, or Time, who is sometimes supposed to be represented in this form, as presiding over past and future, a very artistic and poetical conception, and well conveying the idea of looking back into the past, and forward into the future, at the same moment. The ship is supposed to be adopted in commemoration of the landing of Saturn in Italy, as he came, according to the legend, by sea. This is mentioned by Ovid in the lines—

> "At bona posteritas puppim signavit in ære,
> Hospitis adventum testificata dei." (Fasti, Lib. 1.)

The following woodcut shows the twelfth part of the *As*, or *uncia* (ounce), of the same period as the As of nine and a half ounces. The ounce-piece, or uncia, is generally distinguished by the head of Pallas; the *sextans*, or sixth, that is the two-ounce piece, by that of Mercury; these pieces are farther distinguished by dots or knobs, one for the uncia (under the ship), two for the Sextans, and so on—this specimen is also from a coin in the British Museum. This uncial coinage, of 9½ ounces to the As, possibly the first of the circular form, appears to have been also the most abundant, as the great majority discovered of the earlier periods are of this weight. It will easily be conceived that these coins are of great thickness, the uncia



being nearly half, and the full *As* at least three quarters of an inch thick, in the thickest parts.

The young Roman plebeian, as we learn from Macrobius, used his "coppers" for "tossing up," just as London boys, or the gamin de Paris, do at the present day, but instead of "head or tail" or "man or woman," the Roman street-gambler cried "capita aut navim," that is "head's (alluding to the two faces), or ship."

The impression of a sextans or two-ounce piece, on Plate 6., No. 1, will show a sextans, when the As was much reduced in weight, and also the treatment of the design changed; the *high* relief having entirely disappeared; while a small piece on the same Plate, No. 2, also a two-ounce piece, struck about the same time, but in Southern Italy, where the Greek style still prevailed, is in relief nearly as high as the earliest pieces, but better in execution, struck when the entire As was about two ounces and a half.

A few, but rare specimens exist of larger pieces than the As, in the circular form, while the As was still at a comparatively high standard of weight; such is the decussis or ten As piece, indicated by the X behind the head (see engraving on opposite page), issued when the As was reduced to about four ounces, as this decussis weighs something more than thirty-nine. The head of Roma has a fine character, but is without the wings on the helmet, which usually distinguish it from Minerva. The

reverse is the usual prow of a ship — rostrum navis. This noble coin is in the Kircherian Museum, at Rome, and has been described in the interesting work of the P. P. Marchi and Tessieri. The head, supposed by early numismatists to be that of the goddess Roma, or a personification of Rome, and by later authors to be that of Pallas, has been again considered Roma by recent writers, especially M. Le Normand

and M. Borghesi. The latter refers to the heads of Roma, on coins of the families Publicia, Julia, Minucia, Carisia, &c., in which feathers appear, instead of wings, at the sides of the helmet; this is evidently a later form, or mode of treatment, of the wing feature, and appears to prove that all the earlier coins with a winged helmet, may equally be considered Roma.

OF THE COPPER AS, OR ANCIENT UNCIAL MONEY OF OTHER ITALIAN STATES.

Next, in antiquity, after Roman As's, with the ship and Janus, those of the greatest weight, but different types, should be ranged; they evidently belong to neighbouring states, or towns, where the uncial system prevailed. Many of them are possibly of the Latin towns near to Rome. Marchi and Tessieri have given them to Alba, Tusculum, Aricia, and Lanuvium, but on grounds strongly objected to by M. Raoul Rochette.

The finest collection of this uncial money is, doubtless, that of the Kircherian Museum, at Rome.

The As's with the wheel for type, are supposed to be money of the Rutuli, which from the similarity of its Latin name Rota, most likely expressed the name of their city, and was a *speaking* type, like those of the Greek coins of Ancona, &c.* The name of the city in Etruscan was KRVTVN, or RVTVN.

The series of uncial money of Tuder has the name in full, in Etruscan characters, †V†EOE on the As, the semis, sextans, and triens, and abbreviated as †V on the quadrans and uncia. The heaviest are of eight ounces to the As, so that they only appeared when the Roman was reduced to that weight; the oldest Roman approaching ten. The Tuder series of As's are the oldest after the Roman. Neither the Latin nor Roman As's of this date have an inscription beyond the name of the city, as long as they were *cast* instead of struck.

The uncial money of the second epoch, of Tuder—when all are proportionally lighter in weight—have not the complete As in the series, which P. P. Marchi and Tessieri suppose to be in consequence of the Roman conquest intervening; and the Romans, though allowing them still to coin money, would not permit them to issue the grand piece, so that they remained, to use a term of Roman jurisprudence, capite minores. The types of the early Tuderian pieces are, an eagle for obverse, and a cornucopiæ for reverse, for the As; and a sleeping dog and a lyre for semis, &c. &c. The Æs' of Tuder, are plentiful, and of various types, all having Oscan characters.

Next in antiquity, are those of the Umbrian city of Iguvium, with the name of the city in Etruscan characters, IKVLINI. The larger pieces have, a sun, (represented by a ball surrounded with detached rays) on one side, and the crescent moon and stars on the reverse. The smaller pieces have various types, such as *pincers*, or some tool connected with coining operations, a bunch of grapes, &c. This series of ancient money is very rare; its greatest weight is seven ounces to the As. The oval and somewhat globose pieces of copper, of a species of fabrication apparently belonging to this district and period, with the globular dots similar to the parts of the As, are possibly not coins, but weights.

The As of Volterra, and its parts, has, on the first or heaviest series, a bifrons head, without beard, and wearing a pointed cap; the reverse a *club*. The As is above seven ounces. There are other types of Volterra. Volterra is the only Etrurian town in which the copper Æs appears to have been issued, while in Umbria, only in two places, Iguvium and Tuder, have similar coins. The series of the Æs, and its parts, of Volterra is, perhaps, more complete than that of any other place. Those with a wheel on one side, and a vase on the other, have been supposed by the

* See Greek types, page 110.

same authors to belong to Aretinum—the wheel indicating the metropolis Krutun; and the vase, the secondary city Aretinum, famous for its manufactories of pottery. But this is disputed, though a very ingenious theory. Eckhel, the highest authority on most other points in numismatics, is not a good authority on this class of coins.

The series now attributed to Ariminium, the modern Rimini, is very interesting, as bearing most probably a *portrait* head, which if so, is certainly the earliest example of the kind on the money of Central Italy. The fabrication of the pieces accords with the period at which the Gauls were masters of Rimini and that part of Italy, and it would appear that they struck money in imitation of the uncial money of Rome. The type is a head with the hair in disorder, wearing a moustache, and with a necklace or torque, round the neck—a style which accords with that of well-known Gaulish monuments of that epoch. The uncial money of Rimini was most likely issued at the alliance of the Etruscans and Gauls, about 295 B. C., when a Gallic state was permanently established, which was destroyed by the Romans at the battle of Sentina.

The uncial money of the ancient city of Hatria, on the eastern coast of Italy, which gave its name to the Adriatic Sea, is of fine style. The type of the As is a head resembling that of Bacchus, supposed by some to be Bacchus Pogon. The type of the quincunx of this series is very singular, a female head issuing from a spiral shell. The weight of the Hatrian coinage is important, for the As of this series even surpasses in weight that of the most ancient Roman; but the modern character of the Latin letters (not Oscan) prove, that notwithstanding this discrepancy of weight, these pieces belong to a later period than the early Roman As.

Other coins belonging to the class of uncial copper money are frequently found, with such types as the boar, or sow, the ram, the bull, &c. &c., which have not at present been satisfactorily attributed to any of the above series; the sextans, or uncia, being the most common.

In concluding this sketch of the rise and progress of the great copper uncial money of Rome and central Italy, I must briefly allude to its regular decrease of weight;* which gradually declined, till at the time of Augustus, in other words, at the commencement of the imperial series, the "large brass," or sestertius of that day, about the size of our penny, represented two As's and a half. Shortly

previous to this period, we find the As much reduced in bulk, struck by the sons of Pompey, in Sicily, with the head of Janus representing portraits of their father.

* More particulars on this point will be found in the chapter on Roman weight, types, &c., &c.

The woodcut represents one of these coins of Sextus Pompey. The portrait is that of his father, above which, only the letters MGN appear, as expressing his surname Magnus. On the reverse the word PIVS, expresses the defence of Sextus of the cause of his father, and IMP (Imperator), simply that of commander.

The As was still coined during a portion of the reign of Augustus, with its original types, both for its unit and some of its parts; but after that time, under the term of Assaria, the As is known by numismatists as *third brass*, and received the ordinary types of imperial coins; the old traditional ones entirely disappearing. There are, however, parts of the As coined as late as Nero and Domitian, at the same time that the other scales were prevalent; and it is singular that the last copper coinage of the empire tottering to its fall, was a reproduction in a minute form of the As; which, in its grand original proportions, had been the first coin of the Republic in its Herculean youth. So that the As grave forms at once the Alpha and Omega of the long and splendid series of the Roman coinage.

COINS OF THE ROMAN REPUBLICAN CONTINUED.—THE FIRST ROMAN COINAGE OF SILVER.

The passages to be gathered from ancient authors on the subject of the first Roman silver, are very contradictory; and not to be reconciled with the existing monuments themselves; from which the only true conclusions are to be drawn; and by which the apparent discrepancies or mistakes of ancient authorities can alone be either explained or accounted for. Cicero, mentions the quinarious or half denarius as a coin called the Victoriatus,* from a figure of victory upon it. Pliny, tells us the *victoriati* were at first imported from Illyria, as an article of trade; but he must mean that the Romans employed some Grecian state to coin such pieces for them, which might be exported from Greece, through some Illyrian port; but this is improbable, as the "victory" is the same type as that on some coins of Agathocles, a prince of Sicily. That they were coined, however, expressly for the Romans, is clear from the inscription "ROMAN," probably an abbreviation of "ROMANORVM" "of the Romans," after the manner of similar legends on Greek coins†. The coin engraved below is either one of the quinarii mentioned by Cicero, or one of the imported victoriati. But the coins of this type are generally considered to be of Campanian workmanship, after the fall of the Greek cities in that district of Italy, beneath the Roman

power. The figure of Victory is of most graceful design and execution, in the act of suspending a crown from the olive branch on the right, a device which probably denotes a recent victory over a king; as on a coin of the Æmilian family, the subjection of Aretas, King of Arabia, is recorded by a similar device. (See Page 145).

* Called by the Greeks tropaicon, or *trophy* coins.

† The Neapolitan pieces, with POMAIΩN in Greek characters, are of the same character.

The head of Pallas, or Rome, in the Phrygian cap, which occupies the obverse of these coins, is supposed by some to allude to the Asiatic origin of Rome through Æneas. The half quinarius, or quarter denarius* of this type exists, but of these I have seen but few. The workmanship of this type is extremely beautiful, and though the smaller pieces are rare, the quinarii are plentiful. There are coins of the same type of inferior execution, probably of a later period, and done *at* Rome. The next silver issued by Roman authority, is that which M. Le Normand and others have pretty clearly shown to have been coined at Capua. The following are the facts known on the subject:—

Pliny gives positively the year corresponding to 269 B.C., as the time of the emission of the first Roman silver, but he doubtless alludes to money coined by the Romans at Rome, as we possess coins with the inscription ROMA of much earlier date; the largest of which are tridrachms, appearing to be of Capua, of Teanum, and of Sidicinum. They have for types, a beardless bifrons, or double-faced head; and on the reverse of the large pieces, a quadriga, or car drawn by four horses; on the smaller pieces, a biga, or car with two horses.† The portions of the As, which the Romans appear also to have introduced at Capua, have the same types on the reverse, but generally a head of Jupiter on the obverse; the triens‡ of Atella also appears to have been engraved by the same artist.‖ All these pieces belong to the time when the Romans, 317 B.C., established a prætor at Capua. The tridrachms were in circulation in Capua, at the same time the As was divided into ten, instead of twelve; which, however inexplicable it may appear, shows us different standards in circulation in the same places, at the same time.

It seems probable that the division of the As of Capua into *ten* parts; instead of twelve, as usual at Rome and other states; may throw some light on the origin of the Roman denarius. It is possible that the Capuans, in close connection as they were with all the Greek states of Southern Italy, and using the silver drachma as the base of their monetary circulation; found, that ten of the As's, which had been introduced to their circulation by the Romans, answered, at a certain period of their declining weight, to the value of the silver drachma; and in order to complete a decimal harmony of value,§ divided the As itself into ten parts only; and when called upon to coin silver for the Romans, coined in fact the Greek drachma,¶ but in compliment to the Romans named it after their national money, a *denarius*, or piece of ten As's.

There are other types of early Republican silver, among which, those with the Carthaginian types of the horse's head, and the gallopping horse—the former with the inscription ROMANO, and the latter ROMA—are very beautiful. They were possibly struck in the Carthaginian portion of Sicily; when the Romans, after

* The term denarius signifies ten As's, which was the value of the coin when first issued, from *Den-Æris*, or ten pieces of brass; the quinarius was five; &c., &c. (See article on Roman types, &c., &c.)

† Those with the *biga*, were called *bigati*, they were half of the Capuan denarius with the quadriga (see Plate 6, No. 3), which latter were called *quadrigati*.

‡ Third of the As.

‖ See page 140.

§ The subsequent issue of the sestertius, worth one-quarter of the denarius (or two and a half As's), confirmed the decimal division of the As.

¶ A trifle lighter than the Athenian standard, in consequence, perhaps, of the still declining weight of the As.

the subjection of the whole island by Marcellus, possibly allowed some cities to coin with their own national types, but with the inscription Roma, or Romano, to denote the supremacy of Rome. An impression of a reverse of the Capuan tridrachm with the quadriga, will be found at Plate 5, No. 3.

The first silver coined at Rome itself, is most probably composed of the pieces with the head of Rome, with a winged helmet, on the obverse; and the dioscuri on the reverse; or sometimes a quadriga and biga; the former on the larger pieces. In addition to the denarius and quinarius, Varro states that there was also the silver sestertius, which was half the quinarius, the *libella*, which was one-tenth of the denarius, its name coming from *libra*, the original, but now reduced, pound of copper, which it represented; the *semilibella*, and also a teruncius, or three-ounce piece; which was the fortieth part of the denarius. If the denarius be allowed to be equal to about 7½*d.* of our money, it follows that these pieces were less than half a farthing, which, judging from the size of a modern silver penny, must have been rather minute. This led Savot, and the authors of the articles in the *Encyclopedæ*, to suppose that the full denarius must have weighed *an ounce; for* without being in possession of all the facts now known relative to the gradual reduction of the weight of the As, they supposed it impossible that the denarius which they knew to be of the value of 7½*d.* of our money, could really represent in value, ten pounds weight of copper. But if we consider that the As was reduced to about two ounces at the time of the emission of the denarius, it would only make it worth twenty-four ounces of copper; and after the subsequent reduction only twenty; whilst the small size of the lesser pieces, mentioned by Varro, is not very wonderful, if compared with a silver farthing of Henry VIII.

There are other varieties of this early Roman coinage of the denarius and its parts; but space compels me to pass them over without notice, though they formed the silver currency of Rome during a considerable period; but I shall refer to the subject again, when I describe what have been termed the "consular," and sometimes the "family" coins; a class of Roman silver, which began to appear, at a period when strictly national types gave way, to some extent, to individual ones, which were introduced, in illustration of their own ancestry, by the influential families of Rome, who in succession held the direction of the coinage.

COINS OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.—THE COINS OF THE SOCIAL WAR.

As the coins of the social war are principally silver coins (denarii), I shall describe them at once, previously to the first Roman gold, which is of an earlier date. The social war broke out in the autumn of the year 91 B.C., and originated in a confederacy of several Italian states against the tyrannical domination of Rome; by that time established over the whole peninsula. The principal claim set up by the confederacy, was that of equal right of citizenship with Rome itself;—a just claim, which, having failed to obtain by reiterated demands, they determined to secure by force of arms; or proclaim an entire independence.

Q. Pompædius Silo appears to have been the soul of the rebellion; and his name and acts are commemorated on several of the coins issued by the confederacy during the struggle; which, although it ended in the triumph of Rome, yet secured to the other Italian states most of the privileges for which they contended. During

the continuance of the war, the revolted states coined money independent of Rome; which they used every device to distinguish as *Italian* money, assuming the whole peninsula as one confederated nation; and not a number of subordinate nations under the supremacy of one dominant people. Some of the most remarkable of this series of coins are the following:—

First, one with the inscription Q. Silo, who was chief of the Marsians. It has on the obverse, a fine head with the inscription in Latin characters, ITALIA; on the reverse, are eight warriors, four on either side, taking an oath, in the peculiar form, over a swine, held by a youth—which is represented, for the first time, on the fine Roman staters, described in the article on the "first Roman gold;"* from which this reverse is to some extent copied; but adapted to the existing circumstances. Mr. Millingen has supposed that the eight warriors represent eight confederated states. But this is disputed by M. P. Merimée; and it is more probable that it merely represents a confederation, without any precise allusion to number; for the number of the states has been very variously computed by different authors. The warriors are doubtless taking this portion of the oath, "Si prior defexit, publico consilio, dolo malo; tu illo die, jupiter, populum Romanum, sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam," (Liv. 1, 24)—"If they shall first depart from them (*the conditions*), by authority of the state, through fraud or deceit; do thou, O Jupiter, in that day, strike the Roman people, as I shall here, this day, strike this swine."† Beneath the group, in the exergue, occurs the inscription Q. SILO. Another coin, has the head of "Italy," with a helmet similar to that worn by the goddess Roma, showing, it is thought, that they wished to adopt—not to destroy Roman institutions; but, that the privileges then attached to a single city, should be extended to the whole of Italy, instead of being confined to Rome. A wreath of laurel, symbolic of the successes, is placed

behind the head; and beneath is the word "Italia," instead of "Roma," which would have occupied the place on a Roman coin. On the reverse are the Dioscuri; represented in the position generally used to denote recent triumphs by their aid. (See article, "Roman types.")

On the coins of the Samnites; the most powerful of the combined states, the inscriptions are in Samnite characters, and the word occupying the place of "Italia" appears to be deciphered Viteliu, which is supposed to be the ancient name of Italy, or perhaps a mystic name, as Valentia is of Rome. Those coins of the social war, bearing the name "Italia," are probably of the northern states; those with Viteliu, or Mutil, written in Oscan characters, are of the south; the latter being an

* See Plate 6, No. 7, and page 140.

† "In re fœdera quod factum est quondam cum Samnitibus, quidam adolescens nobilis porcam sustiniut jussu imperatoris," &c. &c.—Cicero de Inv. (In that treaty which was made formerly with the Samnites, a certain noble youth held up a swine, by the command of the (imperator), &c. &c.)

abbreviation of the name of C. Papius Mutilus, the general of the Samnites. Some have Mutil *Embrator*, equivalent to the Roman imperator. The word Safinim, in Samnite characters, which appears on some of these coins, is now understood to be the name of the Samnites, in their own language.

One of the most figurative, and perhaps the most finely-executed, of these coins, is that on which the bull, as an emblem of Italy, is seen overcoming a wolf, the emblem of Rome; an impression of which is exhibited on Plate 6, No. 7. The bull was, according to Strabo, adopted as a Samnite symbol from the following circumstance: The Sabines having vowed a "spring to Mars," their youth went forth, following a bull towards the south, which eventually lay down in the territory of the Opici; the emigrants sacrificed to Mars, and settled themselves in that district, assuming, or re-adopting, the emblem of a bull as the national symbol. And this Samnite symbol was adopted, no doubt, by Italy in general; as being that of the leading, and most powerful insurgent state.

Some of the coins of the social war, which were principally denarii, have the numeral X, denoting their value, as of X As's; others have XVI (or ✱), denoting its increased value, with reference to that standard; when they were declared worth sixteen As's, instead of ten.

THE REPUBLICAN COINAGE OF ROME—THE FIRST GOLD.

The first issue of Roman gold, especially mentioned by Pliny as taking place sixty-two years after that of silver; was most probably the *scrupular* coinage; the lowest denomination of which was the *scrupulum*, which was made equal to twenty Sestertia,* proving that the Sestertian division of the As of ten parts, had already become a mode of general calculation.† Of this coinage there was also the double and treble scrupulum, representing respectively forty and sixty Sestertii. The Scrupulum has the numerals XX, behind the head of Mars, which forms the type of the obverse; the double, XXXX, behind the same type; and the treble has a numeral signifying sixty. They have all an eagle for the type of the reverse, beneath which is the word *Roma*. These coins are of very delicate execution, certainly that of Greek artists, and most likely executed in the Greek cities of Campania, or in Sicily; the eagle appears to be copied from the gold of Tarentum. The examples on Plate 6, No. 4, will convey a good idea of these beautiful coins, which appear to have been issued in small quantity, and to have been soon discontinued, as they are extremely rare.

The next class of gold coin that appeared, and which is *possibly* of earlier issue than the last mentioned, though the work is in a later style, formed the base upon which the Roman *aureus* was afterwards founded; which was the standard gold money of Rome as long as the empire existed. I allude to the beautiful coin resembling in fabric the Greek staters, the type of which is considered, upon good grounds, to represent the alliance entered into between Rome and Capua previous to the complete subjection of the Campanian cities. Two figures appear to be taking the oath after the ancient Italian form, over a swine,‡ which is held by a youth

* The Sestertius—Sestertius igitur ab Semistertius dictus (Varro, de L. L.) The Sestertius was two As's and a half—making a quarter of the Denarius.

† See page 137, and chapter on Roman types, values, &c.

‡ See page 139, and foot note.

for that purpose; one figure is unmistakeably Roman, while the other is almost as evidently Greek. Beneath the figures, in the exergue, is the word ROMA.* The other side of this coin is occupied by a fine bifrontal head, which may possibly be the youthful and beardless Jupiter, worshipped at the Italian Anxur, the modern Terracina; though it is crowned with laurel, an attribute of Apollo. This head appears to have been executed by the same artist as that on the fine silver tridrachm described at page 137. There are two classes of gold of the alliance type, the one executed with boldness, approaching almost to roughness, while the other exhibits the greatest finesse and sharpness in the execution. There are also pieces of half the size of this coin, of precisely the same type, and of both classes of execution. The impressions, No. 5 and 6, on Plate 6, are fine examples of this interesting coinage. These pieces, like the scrupular gold, appear also to have been coined to the Sestertian standard; the smaller weigh 52·7-10th grains, and therefore passed probably for 60 sesterces; the larger are 105·2-10th grains, and must be considered 120 sesterces.

These early specimens of Roman Republican gold are among the greatest of numismatic rarities—they must rank with the Greek stater, rather than the Roman aureus; as the earliest silver coined for the Romans must rank rather with the Greek drachma, than the true subsequent denarius. Nevertheless, the coin just described led to the establishment of that form of gold coinage that became permanent at Rome, and which is known as the *aureus*, and its parts. These are stated to have been coined, at first, as forty to the pound weight of gold, but afterwards were gradually reduced, till about the time of Nero forty-five were coined out of the pound weight of gold. The estimated weight of those forty to the pound would be about 130 grains each, those forty-five to the pound, 106 grains. But upon actual examination of several collections I have found the actual weights of the coins that have come down to us to be very irregular; none reaching 130 grains, with the exception of those of Sylla, to be spoken of hereafter, and none falling below 117 grains, or much exceeding 124. Till after the time of Augustus, the average weight of the Republican aureus, after its establishment as a national coin, was about 124. The lightest are some of the Vibian family and of Octavius, which are about 117; and the heaviest, is one of Cneus Pompey, weighing about 128 grains. The coin of Cneus Pompey alluded to, has the head of Pompey the Great on the obverse, and those of his sons, Cneus and his brother, two small portraits facing each other, on the reverse. The earliest areus's actually coined at Rome rank with the "family" coins; and may be considered those with the head of "Roma," and the word Roma; and of these those with the heads most simply treated, are the earliest. About the time of Sylla the winged helmet of the goddess Roma became more decorative in character, and soon after disappeared from the coinage.

Raper, says Mr. Hussey, considers there was another gold coinage between the pieces with the alliance type and the *aureus;* but this idea is based upon some heavy gold of Sylla, weighing 165 grains, which is now thought to be the gold coined for Sylla by Lucullus, and mentioned by Plutarch as the *Lucullian* money. Each of these pieces, though passing under the usual name, as an aureus, was expressly made

* This type of the oath, or alliance, is found on parts of the As (the sextans), both of Capua and Atella.

heavier, as a covert bribe to the soldiers, who were paid in this coin, by which means their pay, though nominally the same, was much increased. Some of the pieces, says a recent numismatic writer, weigh 202 grains, being near a quarter part heavier than the standard weight, and making only thirty to the pound weight of gold. Now the *real* standard of the period, and not the theoretic one, appears to have been about 124 grains to the aureus, and the heaviest of Sylla's gold which I have been able to examine, the fine coin in the British Museum, which has an equestrian figure of Sylla on the reverse, from the Pembroke collection, weighs 167 5-10th grains; another, with the decorative head of Roma on the obverse, above alluded to, and Sylla in a triumphal car, on the reverse, weighs 166 1-10th grains. Now either of these even, would be more than a quarter part heavier than the average standard, while those of 202 grains above alluded to, which I have not seen, must be considerably more than one-half more than the average standard. Some have thought that only the gold of Sylla, is that which really belongs to the gold coined for him by Lucullus, with the type of *Venus Victrix;* but most likely the same system having been found to work well, was still pursued by him after his return to Rome. And this talisman, says a recent writer, may be that to which he owed his success with the troops of the Consul Scipio; who joined him to a man; leaving their general an empty camp. Nor is it impossible that the same Lucullian coin paved the way to the dictatorship.*

If the coins above alluded to are cotemporary, which there is every reason to believe, as we have no record of any of the family of Sylla coining above the standard except Sylla himself, then the two small portraits, introduced as described, may be considered the first portraits on the Roman coinage; and take precedence of those of Julius Cæsar. The portraits of Julius Cæsar are, however, the first which were so placed by authority of the Senate.

Of the gold issued in Rome during the period about half a century previous to the time of Cæsar, when the different families obtaining the administration of the mint, placed their names, and even historical events connected with their families, on the public coins, there is a great variety (see Plate 6, No. 10). Those above mentioned of Sylla are, I believe, classed with the coins,of the Cornelian family, as bearing that name; but in Sylla's time the influence and importance of the monetary triumvirs had much decreased; as after that time their names appear quite secondary to that of the person wielding dictatorial power for the moment; and on the coins of Antony, Cæsar, &c., they are merely termed the moneyers of those personages.†

The gold coins of the first and second triumvirate are classed separately, among which are some interesting coins—those with the portrait of Lepidus on one side and Antony on the other; those with Octavius and Antony, &c., and the gold of Brutus, mentioned in another place (see page 148). The gold of Octavius, previous to his assumption of the title of Augustus, is placed with the coinage of the second triumvirate. Some of his gold of that period, with an exquisite bull on the

* The gold money issued under Sylla was coined from a fine of 20,000 talents imposed upon Asia, after the peace of Mithridates. It appears that Lucullus held under Sylla, in Greece, an office similar to those jointly of Quæstor Urbanus and Triumvir Monetalis, in Rome itself.

† See Family Coins, page 144.

reverse, is very fine; and also some with victories, &c., referring to the battles of Actium. The gold aureus of Julius Cæsar, and Octavius while triumvir, range between 125 and 121 grains in weight.

COINS OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.—THE FAMILY COINS, OR THOSE COINED AT ROME AFTER THE ADOPTION OF GOLD AND SILVER, TILL THE END OF THE REPUBLIC.

The earliest coins of the Republic are impressed, as I have suggested, with emblems purely national, and religious. But the families, who afterwards held in succession the offices connected with the public mint, acquired by degrees the privilege of illustrating events in their own family history upon the national coins. At first they appear to have had merely the right of inscribing their names on the coins, after the manner of the Greek magistrates, whose names (generally abbreviated) appear on pieces of the Greek coinage. At first, the name of the Roman magistrate is accompanied by some national symbol, such as the *head of Rome*, or the *dioscuri;* some very interesting varieties of which latter type occur, to be described as we proceed. These family coins are inscribed with the names and symbols (but never portraits) of an infinite number of the principal families of Rome; but most of them belong to a comparatively late period of the Republic; ranging from less than a century previous to the time of Julius Cæsar, to shortly after the time of Augustus. They consist principally of silver denarii; and more rarely of gold; and for a short period, there are copper sestersii of the families, but these latter possess little interest. Those with purely national symbols, and only the addition of the name, may be considered the most ancient of the family coins. The next step was to represent some event, which, though forming the distinguishing glory of some particular family, was yet a national one, such as the slaying of the gigantic Gaul by Manlius Torquatus, commemorated by his family on their denarii—the torque taken from the Gaul being made to form a bordering round the *head* of *Roma*. The next advance appears to be, allusions to matters more immediately connected with the family in office, as when the family of Mamilia illustrated on the public coinage their own traditional descent from Ulysses. Just before the time of Sylla, as the Republican spirit decayed, and the struggle for individual power among the leading families began to take place, we find those in charge of the mint commemorating such circumstances connected with their ancestors as were likely to keep up their own interest with the people, during the great struggle for power about to take place. Mere family emblems, a sort of armorial bearings, were even assumed in some instances—such as the symbol of the *three trophies*, the signet of Sylla which was placed upon the public coinage by his son Faustus.* But some of the monetarian families in the later times, doubtless coined money with the more national types, simultaneously with those bearing family allusions; and these must be distinguished from earlier coins of the same description, by the workmanship. The last step was the placing of the head of the existing Republican ruler, or dictator, on the coins; this privilege being accorded by the Senate for the first time to Julius

* The origin of the three trophies of Sylla, on coins struck by his son Faustus, is thus narrated by Plutarch:—"In the war with Mithridates, one trophy was erected in the plain after the great victory over Archelaus, the general of Mithridates; another on the top of Thurium, a craggy mountain, that was afterwards for a time the stronghold of the enemy; and the third after the battle of Chœronea—he inscribed them to Mars, to Victory, and to Venus Victrix.

Cæsar. After this period persons holding control over the mint sink again into their original position; recording their tenure of office by their name only; and are thence considered merely in the light of *moneyers*, to Cæsar, to Lepidus, to Octavius, &c. &c. The great difference between these and the earliest family coins, being, that the head of the individual ruler has assumed the place of a national or religious symbol. Such appears to be the order of succession of the different characteristics of the "family coins."*

M. A. Barthelemi takes a somewhat similar view of the subject, summing up his argument by assuming the general position that the coins termed *family*, or *consular*, must be regarded as the transition between true Republican money and the money of the empire; and that Augustus encouraged the practice of placing ancestral deeds of the existing mint-masters, and perhaps those of other distinguished families on the coins, in order to gradually habituate the people to receive coins alluding only to himself. M. Barthelemi is also of opinion that coins of the character of the family coins, continued to be struck during the reign of all the first emperors of the family of Cæsar. He however appears to consider that none of these coins with family devices were struck much before the time of Cæsar.

The immense number and variety of these coins, though all belonging to a comparatively short period, is accounted for by the nnmbers of cotemporary moneyers. Those in Gaul, Spain, Africa, Asia, &c., all coining independently; which also explains some symbols evidently not Roman, and which it would be difficult to account for as *family* ones. These were, doubtless, the symbols of the places where the money was coined; such as the Ephesian Diana, on the denarius of L. Lentulus, coined at Ephesus during his tenure of office in Asia Minor; the Jupiter Ammon, on the African denarii of Scipio, &c. &c. It remains now to describe a few of the more interesting of the series.

Of the earliest class, the coins of the Aburia family may be mentioned. There is one with the head of the goddess *Roma*, and the inscription GEM, an abbreviation of a surname of the family which has not been satisfactorily explained, on the obverse; and on the reverse, a quadriga; one of the first types adopted on the denarii; but the driver, in this instance, is a figure with a radiated head, supposed to be the sun; (Apollo), in allusion to the family name derived from *amburendo* (burning); the inscription is M (*arcus*) ABVRI (*us*) ROMA. Cais Aburius, whose name appears on another coin, was tribune of the people, A.U. 568, (B.C. 135), and is mentioned by Livy among the legates, who in 588 of the same era, when the Senate declared war against Perseus, King of Macedonia, went to Carthage, and to King Masinissa, and obtained Numidian cavalry and elephants for the war. The Aburia family was reckoned plebeian; and in fact, the majority of the families who held the office, or offices, of what we should call masters of the mint, appear to have belonged to that order. The controlling of the mint appears eventually to have been vested in a triumvirate, called triumviri monetarii, or monetary triumvirs, named originally by the state, but in imperial times by the emperors. They presided separately over the gold, silver, and copper coinages.

On a coin of the Acilian family the title of triumvir, written IIIVIR, occurs.

* The relative antiquity may also be ascertained approximatingly by the purity of the silver; at first it is very pure; the tribune L. Drusus mixed 0.125 of alloy; it was afterwards however restored to its purity.

On this coin, the head of the Goddess of Health, *Salus*, appears, with "SALVTIS;" on the reverse, a female figure, apparently Hygeia, holding a serpent, the symbol of Æculapius, with "ACILIVS. IIIVIR. VALETV (dinis)," from which some have thought that the term triumvir does not refer to the office he held in the mint, but to another office called "*triumvir valetudinis tuendo*,"* similar to those established in recent times when the plague has prevailed, called "Domini sanitatis;" the office represented in our day by that of the chairman of the *Board of Health*. We learn from Livy that Marcius Acilius Glabrio, of this family, was the consul who, in the year A.U. 562 (141 B.C.), defeated Antiochus the Great, and that his son afterwards erected the Temple of Piety in the herb market (forum olitorium), commemorative of his father's triumph, where he also placed a gilt equestrian statue, which was the first of that description erected in Italy.

There is a coin of the Æmilia family representing M. Lepidus placing a crown on the head of the young King of Egypt (Ptolemy Epiphanes), who had been placed under the protection of the Romans. This coin has the interesting inscription "Tutor Regis" (the King's Guardian). Another of the same family has Lepidus on horseback bearing a trophy which has an abbreviated inscription to be thus filled up, M(arcus) LEPIDVS. AN(norum) XV., PR(œtextatus) H(ostem), O(ccidet), C(ivem), S(ervavit).

Another of the same family represents the submisssion of Aretas, King of Arabia, to M. Scaurus, which is very elegantly typified in the following manner:—A *kneeling figure*, accompanied by a *camel*, expresses both the *act of submission* and the *country*. While the nature of the submission—that of the establishment of peace by rendering the crown tributary to Rome—is elegantly expressed by means of an *olive branch*, from which *a crown is suspended*, presented by the kneeling figure.

A sesterce of the Considian family has a beautiful little head of Cupid on the obverse, and a cornucopiæ on the reverse. Caius Considius was a monetary triumvir in the year of Rome 708, and following the fortunes of Pompey, struck this sesterce with other money, at Apollonia. Venus was one of the usual types of the family. This was mistaken for a Corinthian coin by M. Le Normand, and assigned to the Considian family by the Baron D'Ailly.

The rarest of the family coins is perhaps that of the Cornelian family; the unique example of which is in the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris; described with great minuteness by M. Le Normand, in the "Revue Numismatique," for 1840.

A denarius of the family Carisia, has the only representation known, of the coining implements, used by the Romans. Eckhel considers that when the name of a Questor, Ædil, prætor, or other magistrate, appears upon the family coins, it always indicates a special emission of money from the public treasury, for the purposes of war, public games, public subsistence, or the construction of public monuments; in which case it is accompanied by SC, or EX SC (EX Senatus Consulto), indicating the act of the Senate, which directed the emission in question. These initials are found on the whole of the copper coinage of the imperial period.

The Memmian family coined money, bearing a commemoration of the festival of

* O. Panvini "De antiquas Romanorum nominibus."

the Cerelia, which is one of the coins *restored* by Trajan. The family of Plautia have commemorated the capture of Hypersæus; and several interesting portraits also occur on their coins; such as Numa, Tatius, Sylla, Ahala, &c. &c., which, however, as has been remarked, must not be considered cotemporary, but struck in memory of their ancestors by moneyers about the time of Julius Cæsar. The following are some of the most interesting ancestral portraits:—

A coin struck by a descendant of Marcellus, the famous conqueror of Sicily, is interesting. It has the portrait of Marcellus, with the triquetra, or three united legs—the national symbol of Sicily, placed behind the head, and the inscription Marcellinus, in allusion to the person who caused the coin to be struck about the time of Augustus. On the reverse the name of the true Marcellus appears, as "MARCELLVS. COS. QVINQ.," "Marcellus consul quinquies" (consul five times), and the type represents Marcellus carrying to the temple of Jupiter the *spolia opima* of Vindomarus, the Gaulish leader, whom he slew in single combat in sight of both armies. Marcellus is seen covering his head with his toga, after the manner prescribed in the religious ceremonies of the Romans.

Several of the Roman families boasted descent from Numa, and his portrait is found on the coins of the Calpurnian and Marcian families. On that of Martia the portrait of Ancus Martius is found, with an interesting reverse, showing an equestrian figure on a sort of pedestal formed of five arches, which represent an aqueduct, the five letters A. Q. V. A. M. being placed between the arches, denoting the Aqua Martia, long the most important supply of water brought to Rome from the pure springs of the hills of Tusculum and Tivoli.

The Titurius family, descended from a Sabine stock, placed the head of the celebrated Sabine, Tatius, on their denarii. On the reverse is represented the well-known legend of the maid Tarpëia, whom the Sabines crushed beneath their shields after she had treacherously delivered to them the capitol (see Plate 6, No. 8).

C. Memmius (shortly previous to the time of Augustus) struck coins with the head of Romulus; the head probably copied from an ancient and highly venerated statue in the capitol, possibly as old as the time of the first Tarquin; for it bears certain archaic characteristics which belong to that period. The legend has the name *Quirinus*, that under which Romulus was deified, as "god of the lance."

A symbolic portrait of Caius Numonius Valla has been preserved on a coin struck by his descendants. It is one of those names preserved on coins, whilst history has forgotten it. It appears to be that of a Roman who, single-handed, had fought his way into an intrenched camp, and received his surname from the *vallum*, or palisade, which he had forced. This coin possessed sufficient interest to cause the Emperor Trajan to *restore* it, that is, to issue a number of coins of the same type, to preserve the memory of the fact recorded upon it (see Plate 6, No. 10).

A descendant of Cornelius Blasionus has placed a portrait of his ancestor, Scipio Africanus, on one of the coins struck during his tenure of office.

The portrait of Sylla appears on the coins of his grandson, Q. Pompeius Rufus.

The link between the republican or family coins, and the imperial ones, are those, after the time of Julius Cæsar, that bear cotemporary portraits. Cæsar was the first citizen to whom it was permitted to place his portrait on his coins during his

life. But the custom once established, soon became common. Lepidus, Antony, Brutus, and others, obtained or took the privilege, which was, however, at first cautiously introduced. Pompey's portrait first appeared on portions of the As, as the two-fronted Janus, just as that of Alexander the Great had previously done in the character of Hercules. This is a nearer approach to a cotemporary portrait than that of Sylla, just named, being struck by a son, instead of a grandson.

There are Greek coins with the portrait of Pompey, as late as the time of Aurelius, which should rank with imperial Greek coins ; as they belong to an Asiatic city re-founded by him, Pompeiopolis: some of them have the inscription ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ (of the Pompeipolitans).

There are coins struck by Marc Antony, bearing his portrait and that of his brother Lucius, as well as those of the Triumvir Lepidus. There are also portrait coins of Brutus and Cassius which may be better classed with the imperial series than the family coins, though, of course, anterior to the establishment of the empire under Augustus. Some coins of the Antonian family belong more properly to the family series, such as those merely bearing the names of the legions that served under the great triumvir.

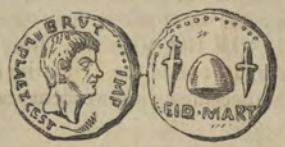
On some of the coins struck during the triumvirate, Antony appears on one side, and Octavius on the other; the inscriptions running—M(arcus), ANTON(ius), IMPerator, AVG(ur), III. VIR (for triumvir), R(ei)Publicæ), C(onstituendæ). (Marc Antony Imperator, Augur, one of the Triumvirs charged with the Arrangement of the Republic). The accompanying woodcut shows his portrait on a silver coin, of good workmanship.

On coins struck at Alexandria he appears on one side, and Cleopatra on the other—the latter showing no traces of the beauty for which she has been so celebrated (see Page 70). Medals were struck also in Africa to commemorate the peace between Marc Antony and Octavius, on the marriage of Octavia, the sister of the latter, to Antony. Pellerin has engraved one, which has the head of

Marc Antony facing Octavia; it is evidently not Cleopatra; that of Octavius occupies the reverse. The Punic or Coptic characters are not understood. The portrait of Antony has always some resemblance to the general type of Hercules, from whom he claimed to be descended. After the fall of Antony, his family long remained powerful in Rome. Caligula was his great-grandson, and among the late emperors the Gordians were his descendants.

Some numismatists have endeavoured to give still greater interest to this series of coins by straining the meaning of the types to suit interesting historical events, to which they have no real reference; for instance, the coins struck by the celebrated conspirator, in the time of Cæsar, in honour of his ancestor, Brutus, the first Roman consul, on which the portrait of the first consul appears; have not only been described as cotemporary, which they are not, but the two lictors on the same coin have been described as "the sons of Brutus." Such straining after a false interest is quite unnecessary, as these coins have a sufficient and legitimate interest of their own, without such overstrained interpretations.

Other highly interesting coins were struck by the conspirator Brutus, such as the fine gold medal in the Vienna cabinet, with the inscription BRVTVS IMP(erator); and on the reverse, naval and military trophies, and the name of Publius Servilius Casca; who struck the first blow at Cæsar; written as Casca *Longus*, another and more familiar surname. This medal is described by Eckhel. But the most interesting and historical coin of Brutus, and which, but for the testimony of Dion, who mentions it, might be considered a clever modern forgery, is the silver coin with the head of Brutus, accompanied by his name, and that of Lucius Plætorius Cestianus, who commanded a division of the army of Brutus and Cassius; whilst on the reverse, appears a cap of liberty, between two daggers; (those of Brutus and Cassius), with no inscription but that of EID MART, for Idus Martii; those ides of March, fatal to the ambition and the life of Cæsar. The woodcut represents both sides of this interesting coin.



Whether or not, after the reign of Augustus, the offices of the mint were occasionally conferred on women, is not known; but certain it is that the portraits of the wives of some of the principal citizens occasionally appear on the latter part of this series of coins; perhaps so placed after the manner subsequently adopted by the emperors as a complimentary honour, or more generally in commemoration after death.*

I may sum up this brief account of the first Roman silver to the end of the Republican period, by stating that the coins with purely national types, such as the "Victory," the biga and quadriga, the head of Rome, &c. &c., and the simple

* The family coins are occasionally, but rarely, found with notched or festooned edges—a peculiarity occurring on a few of the Syrian coins of the Seleucidæ.

inscription Romano, and afterwards Roma, appear to have been issued till about the time of Sylla, at which period, or a little before, the families holding the principal offices in the public mint, appear to have begun to place their names on the coins, in addition to the national symbols; in the next period historical events connected with their families were added to their names; eventually to such an extent, as nearly to displace the national types. The next step was a portrait of an ancestor. Sylla placed a symbolical portrait of himself on gold money struck during his dictatorship, in the form of a small figure, in a car of victory; and shortly afterwards, the proud Republic permitted the positive portrait of a living citizen to be placed on the public money—this was the portrait of Julius Cæsar. An impression of his silver denarius is given in Plate 6, Nos. 11 and 12.

This is the last phase of the Republican coinage, and forms the link between that and the imperial, just as the successive dictatorships and triumvirates are the political link between the republic and the empire. The coins termed family coins* are exceedingly numerous and various, and on them are found nearly all the names of note of the great Roman families; both Patrician and Plebeian; and also many names of which there is no other record than these interesting monuments.†

Restored coins are copies of early coins which have been re-issued at subsequent periods, when considered of public interest. Many of the family coins, and those of the first emperors, were thus copied and re-issued by Trajan, and by some of his successors, which may generally be distinguished by a style of execution evidently belonging to a later period, than their originals.

* This series has sometimes been termed "consular," on the supposition that they were issued by successive consuls, but this theory has been long exploded, as many names occur on these coins not found in the list of consuls.

† At Magnesia, in Lydia, coins were struck in honour of Cicero, either during his life, or immediately after his death; but they do not strictly belong to the Roman Republican series. There are three in the Bibliotheque Nationale.

CHAPTER XVII.

COINS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

AS the noble copper coinage of the early Republic, the grandiose ÆS and its parts, had distinguished the coinage of Rome from that of all other nations, whose standards were gold or silver, though they had subordinate copper money; so, at the period of the establishment of the empire, when the gold and silver of the world had flowed into the coffers of all powerful Rome, copper was still maintained as the material of the national monetary standard; and though the As and its parts began to disappear, a new and noble form replaced it, that of the great *first bronze* as it is termed; or rather, in other words, the sestertius; of which a magnificent series exists from Augustus to Gallienus; containing monuments magnificent both as works of art and as historic records. Thus, as I have said, copper was still the great national coinage of the empire; as it had been of the early Republic; and though the emperors coined gold and silver independently, *copper* could only be coined *ex-senatus consulto*, by decree of the senate; which towards the middle of the reign of Augustus, began to be invariably expressed on the coins by the letters S. C. or EX S. C. which are found occasionally on the silver and gold of the Republican period; but the coinage of the latter metals became eventually the exclusive privilege of the emperors.

A short series of copper coins are classed in collections as those of the Roman families, which in fact ought to precede those of their empire, but as they possess but little interest as works of art, I shall do no more than allude to them. They belong to the sestertian series, not that of the As, and form the link between that form of money and the well-known imperial sestertius. They have generally a large S. C. for "Senatus Consulto," by "decree of the senate," within a wreath or garland on one side, and on the other some national or family type, with the name of the monetarian family then in office in the inscription, from which circumstance they are classed with the family coins; but they do not need a more particular description, as they are not numerous, and are generally of very inferior execution.*

I shall be more brief in treating of the coins of the Roman empire, than I have been of those of other countries and periods; but merely because they are so much better known, and not on account of their want of interest; for the series of Roman coins, from the accession of Augustus, to the fall of the western empire under Romulus Augustulus (great names whose spell was then broken), form perhaps the most interesting succession of monuments in existence. Not only from their completeness—coins of every reign† with the exception of a few ephemeral tyrants being preserved—but also from the series of imperial portraiture which they have preserved; and still more from the Roman custom of commemorating upon them the great events, both military and civil, of that great career of empire. Not only

* See sesterce of Considian family, page 141, a departure from the usual style.

† The well-known extreme rarity of the large brass of Otho, or even their non existence being an exception.

are the conquests of Egypt, of Syria, the subjugation of Judea, the victories over the Dacians, the Parthians, and the subjugation of our own island, commemorated on this noble series of coins, by beautiful designs accompanied by appropriate inscriptions; but representations of the great public acts and works of each reign, find also their appropriate record on this series of truly national money. The noble aquaduct that carried the acqua Trajana to Rome; the celebrated forum and Basilica of the same emperor; the port of Ostia; and the Colosseum of Vespasian and Titus, may all be found accurately represented on these coins; as well as records of a host of other interesting events.

It has been shown that the head of Julius Cæsar was the first cotemporary portrait placed by public authority upon a Roman coin,* and that the custom was immediately followed by his successors in the struggle for power. Yet even after the commencement of the reign of Augustus, the custom was not firmly established; and though his portrait as triumvir had already appeared, sometimes accompanied on the reverse by that of Cæsar, and sometimes by that of Antony, yet, the greatest caution was observed in finally gliding out of the more national and religious symbols.

Augustus encouraged the monetarian families in continuing the custom of representing family events and even portraits of their ancestors on the coinage, with a view to facilitate the senatorial sanction of the introduction of his own portrait, and types connected with his own career; and many of the family coins thus belong to the reign of Augustus; and in fact it is thought that they were continued during some few of the succeeding reigns. Some of the national types were preserved on the early coins of Augustus, the word "Roma," for instance; which soon after disappears; not to be seen again till we meet with it on some of the last coins of the crumbling empire; as though it were a talisman long neglected, by which the last feeble emperors imagined that the ancient power and glory of the state might be resuscitated.

The annexed woodcut is a reverse of a sestertius, supposed to have been struck at Lyons, in commemoration of an altar, there dedicated to Augustus and the

Roman people. The Emperor not having yet attained to the position when he could exclaim, "l'etat c'est moi;" for the name of the Roman people, and the

* In the east, however, as has been shown, the custom began above two centuries and a half sooner; and was copied in Sicily by the family of Hiero, King of Syracuse. But the proud independence of the Roman Republic did not permit the adoption of the custom even on the conquest of Sicily.

ancient senate, still august in glorious memories, were as yet, something in the transactions of the empire.

The present coin (or medal) has only the word ROMA, and is one of the last coins on which it occurs; Visconti describes one of similar character, with ROMA ET AV (gustus). The head on the obverse is without title, except that of "Son of the Deified Julius, and father of the state," CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F(ilius) PATER. P(atriæ). The countermark upon it was probably placed there to make the piece serve as an admittance ticket to some spectacle. The copper coin No. 1, on Plate 7, is a sestertius struck by Augustus, before his acceptance of the title of emperor; it has the head of his adoptive father, Julius, on one side; and his own portrait with CAESAR. DIVI. F.(ilius) on the other; the side shown is that with the Deified Julius, and the inscription "Julius Divos." Towards the end of his long reign, the copper sestertius becomes similar in style of execution to the coins of his successors, those, for instance, of Nero (Plate 7, Nos. 1, 2, and 3). The other example of the coinage of Augustus which my space enables me to give, is a silver denarius (Plate 7, Nos. 2 and 3); it has a fine portrait head without inscription; and for reverse, a beautifully-executed figure of victory descending upon the globe, holding an olive branch; apparently symbolizing the peace of the world established by the victories of Augustus. Another denarius of about the same period, and apparently executed by the same artist, has a similar figure of victory descending upon the prow of a vessel; thus at once symbolizing his great naval victory of Actium, and at the same time flattering the Roman people, by allying the victory with the ancient monetary symbol of Rome. The gold of Augustus, as well as the silver, is of remarkably fine workmanship. Towards the close of his reign, when all republican feeling was thoroughly eradicated, and the monarchic principle established, we find the Senate striking coins in honour of *his* Empress Livia; whom they styled "mother of the country" and, "mother of the world." Her name was Livia Drusilla, but in inscriptions she is generally styled Julia Augusta, because Augustus having named her his heir, along with her son Tiberius, by her first husband Tiberius Nero, he required her to bear his name, and that of the greatest of the Cæsarian family, the great Julius. Augustus, born at Rome, the 23rd of September, 63 years before the Christian era, may be said to have began to reign 31 years B.C. (date of the battle of Actium), he died 14 A.D. aged 76.

There is a coin of this reign, though rare, struck in honour of Julia, his too celebrated daughter by his first wife Scribonia; on one, which Eckhel considers undoubtedly authentic, her portrait appears between those of her sons, the Cæsars, Caius and Lucius, whom Augustus adopted after the death of their father Agrippa; it is a denarius, and the inscription round the three heads on the reverse is, of the chief of the mint, Caius Marius Trogus, Triumvir (that is *monetary* Triumvir). Augustus also caused money to be struck, bearing the portrait head of his son-in-law Agrippa, the celebrated builder of the still existing Pantheon; they were most likely struck after his death.

Thus early began the custom of placing the portraits, not only of the empress, but also of other members of the family on the Roman coinage; but I shall only be able in the space of this volume to refer to a few of the examples. As connected with the family of Cæsar, I may mention that there are coins struck by Claudius in

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 7.

COINS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

No. 1.—The reverse of a sestertius (page 188) of Augustus. It has for type the portrait of his adopted father, with the inscription, "Julius Divos" (the deified Julius). On the obverse the portrait of Augustus himself appears (see page 152).

Nos. 2 and 3.—The obverse and reverse of a denarius (page 190) of Augustus. The reverse has for type a Victory descending upon the earth, with a wreath and a palm-branch. The inscription on the reverse is, "Cæsar Divi. F. for F(ilius)" (Son of the divine Cæsar). Augustus began to reign 31 B. C., and died 14 A. D. (see pages 150 and 151).

No. 4.—A denarius of Claudius, who died A. D. 54. It was struck to commemorate the erection of a triumphal arch decreed to him by the Senate, in consequence of the more complete subjugation of Britain during his reign. It has the inscription, "De Britanni," (Conquest of the Britons), the word *conquest* being understood (see page 154).

No. 5.—A sestertius (see page 188), or first bronze, of Vespasian, who ascended the imperial throne in the year 69 A. D., and reigned ten years. It commemorates the conquest of Judea; the country is typified by a palm-tree, beneath which is a sitting figure in an attitude of dejection; the emperor stands by, holding a lance, and placing his foot on a stone or rock, representing the country conquered. The inscription is, "Judea Capta," (Judea captured). and S. C., for Senatus Consulto (by decree of the Senate), see page 156).

No. 6.—A sestertius struck in the reign of Vespasian, to commemorate the building of the Colosseum, at the erection of which 100,000 Jewish prisoners toiled incessantly for ten years.

Nos. 7 and 8.—The obverse and reverse of a sestertius (page 188), or first bronze of Trajan, who began to reign in the year 98, and died in the year 117 A. D. The inscription contains the usual abbreviation of his names and titles (see page 158). The reverse of No. 8 exhibits Trajan in the act of triumphing over the Dacians and Germans, symbolized by a fallen soldier, over whom the emperor is galloping. The inscription is, "SPQR* OPTIMO PRINCIPI" (the senate and people of Rome, to the best prince) (see page 158).

No. 9.—An aureus of Trajan, struck to commemorate the building of his forum. The inscription is, "Forum Traian(um)."

Nos. 10 and 11.—Two Jewish shekels, struck about 125 B. C. One side has the flowering rod of Aaron for type, the other the cup of Manna. The inscriptions on these coins are, on the obverse, "Schekel Israel" (Shekel of Israel), and on the reverse, "Ieroushalim Kedoshah" (Jerusalem the Holy), (see page 124). The date, the second year of the government of Simon Maccabæus, is marked above the cup of manna by the characters שב.

* S(enatus) P(opulus) Q(ue) R(omae).

BY BARCLAY'S PROCESS. 22. GERRARD STREET. LONDON.

memory of Antonia, wife of the brother of Tiberius, and mother of the celebrated Germanicus.

Tiberius was the adopted son and successor of Augustus. He began to reign in the year 14 A.D. The coins of his reign are abundant and of various types. A fine portrait head invariably occupies the obverse, with the legend "C. Tiberius Augustus, Son of Augustus Cæsar, Imperator;" and on the reverse, the one before me, which is of the second bronze, has a large S. C. in the centre, for Senatus Consulto (by decree of the Senate), and "Tribunitia potestate XIII Pontifex Maximus," at full length; stating that he held the tribunitian power for the thirteenth time, and was High Pontiff. He struck coins in honour of his son Drusus, of similar character; there is also one in honour of the two sons of Drusus; a fine and curious large bronze, with the portraits rising from two cornucopiæ, crossing a caduceus in the centre.

COINS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.—OF COINS IN CIRCULATION DURING THE LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST.

The end of the reign of Tiberius appears the most suitable place to speak of the money circulating in Judea in the time of Christ; who being born in the reign of Augustus, and being fourteen years of age at the death of the emperor, the coins of his successor Tiberius may be said to be those in circulation at the principal period of his existence.

Coins of Herod the Great, the tributary King of Judea, were also in circulation; but they are now very rare, and generally small and ill-executed copper, with types somewhat resembling those of the national Jewish shekels,* but with Greek inscriptions. The one engraved in Mr. Akerman's work, (see woodcut, page 125), is of much larger dimension than those usually found. The olive branches, as emblems of peace, and the single star, above the helmet on the obverse, are very singular types, when the period of their execution is taken into consideration. On the reverse is a tripod altar, flaming, and the inscription is "Of King Herod," ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ, and the numeral letters LΓ, signifying the third year of his reign. Herod was first made tetrarch of Judea by Mark Antony; and the title of Tetrarch appears on some of his coins. He afterwards obtained from the senate the title of king. Herod Agrippa, assumes on some of his coins the grandiose inscriptions of the Parthian princes, and styles himself "Great King," and "Lover of Cæsar," as the Parthians had styled themselves "Lovers of the Greeks."†

The term penny, spoken of in the wages of a "penny a-day," was the denarius or *silver* penny; which was equivalent in that day to about the value of sevenpence-halfpenny of our money. This denarius, very much reduced in weight in the lower empire, was afterwards the model of our Saxon silver penny; and we still preserve its original name *denarius*,‡ in our notation of pounds, shillings, and pence, by £ *s.* *d.*, the *d* for denarii. The denarii of Augustus and Tiberius were no doubt both current in Judea at that time. The denarius of Tiberius has the laureated portrait head, with the legend "TI(berius) CAESAR DIVI AVG(usti) F(ilius)

* See chapter on Jewish shekels, page 122. † See chapter on Arsacidæ, page 83.
‡ The *denier* of the French.

AVGVSTVS," (Tiberius Cæsar, Augustus, son of the Divine Augustus). On most of the coins of Tiberius and Caligula, the word Cæsar is very conspicuous, as Ti. and C. are the abbreviated forms of rendering the prenomen, leaving CAESAR alone

at full length; and it was possibly of a denarius of Tiberius, the then reigning emperor, that the question "whose image and superscription is this?" was asked. But there was also a small coin current in Judea which bore the inscription "money of Cæsar," and may possibly have suggested the answer. It is a small copper coin, in the style of the Herodian and national Judean coins, but struck by authority of the Romans. On the obverse is a palm-tree, the emblem of Judea, and the numeral letters ΛΘ, signifying thirty-nine years from the battle of Actium; and on the reverse an ear of wheat, and the inscription ΚΑΙCΑΡΟΣ, (money) of Cæsar.

There are small copper coins in existence of Herod Antipas, with the inscription in Greek, of the name of Herod, accompanied by his title of Tetrarch, both abbreviated. They were struck at Tiberias, which was the enlarged Cinnereth, then newly named after the reigning emperor. On the reverse is the name of the city, TIBEPIAC. The title of Tetrarch is thought to express that of a monarch or ruler of the fourth rank; in Roman times, that of emperor was the highest, that of his viceroys or proconsuls the second, that of tributary kings the third, and that of *tetrarch*, fourth, which it is needless to inform many of our readers, is composed of the words *tetras*, four; and *archon*, a ruler or magistrate.

The coins of the Ephesians, at the time of Paul's preaching, were mostly

Roman, though the city still preserved some traces of independence. On the coins of Claudius struck *for* Ephesus, probably at Rome, as the inscriptions are Latin, is a

good representation of the antique statue or idol worshipped there, which was of very ancient workmanship, and venerated partly for its antiquity. Judging from the style only (without other testimony), it might be conjectured that the original worship came from Egypt, and that the idol was originally a real mummy; and afterwards an archaic statue, closely copied from one, with symbolical alterations and additions.

COINS OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS CONTINUED.

Caligula, the son of Germanicus, succeeded Tiberius, in the year 37 A.D., and the coins of his reign are very various. Coins were struck by the senate in honour of his father Germanicus. One of the most interesting coins of Caligula has a fine portrait on the obverse, with the usual inscription of his money, C. CAESAR. AVG(ustus) GERMANICVS. PON(tifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate); and the reverse has the portrait of his three sisters, as Fortune, Piety, and Security, and bearing their names Drusilla, Agrippina, and Julia. This coin, struck in the first year of his reign. The inscriptions relative to the tribunitian power, consulships, &c. &c., which now become regular, enable us to ascertain the very year when most of the Roman coins of the imperial series were struck.

On his coins, the name of Caligula never appears, Caius, his prenomen, alone being expressed generally by C. In the beginning of his reign, and before his career was disfigured by the horrible excesses, by which he is best known, he also caused coins to be struck in honour of his mother Agrippina, which are very remarkable; round a fine portrait head is an inscription, thus abbreviated, "AGRIPPINA. M.(arci Agrippæ) F.(ilia) M.(ater) C.(ai) CAESARIS AVGVSTI." "Agrippina, the daughter of Marcus Agrippa, mother of Caius Cæsar" (Caligula). He instituted games in her honour, and in the procession preceding the performances of the circus, there was a *carpentum*, or richly-decorated car, in which her statue was placed; this car, drawn by mules, is represented on the reverse of the coin, which appears also to contain the statue of her husband, Germanicus. This design was afterwards copied on coins struck in the memory of later empresses; and the present one was perhaps suggested by the gold coin struck by Ptolemy Soter, in memory of the funeral of Alexander the Great.* The inscription on the reverse is "MEMORIAE AGRIPPINAE," to the memory of Agrippina.

There is a very fine large bronze of this reign, with the "*adlocutio*" type on the reverse; that is to say, the representation of an address to the military; the emperor being seen standing near a chair of state, on a slightly raised platform, in the attitude of addressing a group of soldiers, holding their standards; it is very finely executed. The inscription is ADLOCVT(io) COH(ortium), (address to the Cohorts). On his coins of this type the S.C., or by decree of the Senate, does not appear; by which it would seem that he coined copper without the consent of that body; which may account for its decree, after his death, ordering all his money to be melted down and recoined, in order that "the odious name of Caligula might be forgotten." But nevertheless, so abundant must have been the issue during his reign, that his coins are far from uncommon. The silver denarii, and also the aurii of this reign, have also very finely-executed types.

* See chapter on the coins of the Lagidæ, page 67

Claudius was invested with the purple in the year 41 A. D. His coins are of very similar workmanship to those of Caligula; the relief on the large brass getting gradually higher and bolder, ever since Augustus. The gold aureus, with his portrait on one side, and that of his wife, the younger Agrippina, on the other, is of very highly finished execution.

As is well known, the more complete subjugation of Britain took place in this reign; on which occasion the Senate decreed a triumphal arch in honour of the emperor; which is represented on some of his silver coins (denarii), and also on some of the gold. An impression from the denarius will be found in Plate 7, No. 4. The inscription above the arch is "DE BRITANNI" (of the Britains), the word conquest being understood.

On coins of Claudius, are portraits of his third wife, the infamous Messalina, and his fourth wife and niece, Agrippina. Also of the son of Messalina, Britannicus. An unique medal, first bronze, of Britannicus exists, bearing the portrait of a youth, finely executed, and the inscription, "Britannicus, son of Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus." On the reverse is a figure of Mars, with no inscription, but the initials of "Senatus Consulto."

About this period and that of Nero the fine arts attained their greatest development in Rome. Greek art and artists were first encouraged in Rome about the time of Sylla, after his Grecian campaigns; when countless pictures and statues, long the glory of Greece, found their way to the galleries of private Roman citizens; and the taste for art rapidly increased in consequence. We find, in about a century after Sylla's time, or little more, a native Roman school of art established, possessing characteristics of its own, in some respects equal even to that of Greece. The colossal bust of Claudius, now in the *Retiro* palace, at Madrid, is one of the finest specimens of sculpture of the period; and supposed to have been executed by direction of Nero, in honour of his predecessor, whom he had murdered. This magnificent production might be placed beside any monument of Greek art; and yet is strictly Roman in every detail of its execution and style. The magnificent cameo of the Vienna collection, representing the Apotheosis of Claudius, is not only the largest onyx cameo in existence, but a most exquisite work of art, almost equal, though distinct in style, to the finest specimen of gem engraving of the Greeks.

Nero began to reign in the year 54 A. D., clearing his way to the throne by the murder of Britannicus, the son of Claudius and Messalina. His coins are an example of the fine state of the arts in his reign. By art, even the coarse features of this human monster, are rendered noble, without losing the likeness; (see Plate 8, No. 1), and the spirit and elegance of the reverses are worthy of all praise, as may be seen by examination of the celebrated *decursio* reverse, in Plate 8, No. 2. The term decursio is supposed to refer to the rapid visitation of districts of the empire, accompanied by a small force of cavalry. Another beautiful coin of the same class, (first bronze), has the newly-constructed port of Ostia on the reverse; of which the traces still remain at the mouth of the Tiber (see Plate 8, No. 3). Others have for their reverses, figures of Ceres and Abundance, exquisitely designed; and the inscription, "ANNONA. AVGVSTI. CERES;" that is, "Abundance (by the care of Augustus) of the gifts of Ceres." Such coins, afterwards common, were struck at the period of a public distribution of grain to the populace; a long

established custom, the people of Rome having a legal claim upon the government for a certain supply of bread or corn. Portraits of the two last wives of Nero, Poppea and Messalina the younger, appear on coins struck in their honour, in Asia Minor.*

After the death of Nero, Galba, a member of the Sulpician family, was recognised emperor, in the year 68 A. D. In the year 69 he was murdered; and Otho commenced an ephemeral reign of a few months, to yield to the good fortune of another usurper, Vitellius. There are fine coins of Galba, but those of Otho are extremely rare, and no *large bronze* have yet been discovered; so that a large bronze coin of this emperor would be, if found, the greatest rarity a collector could possess; and if fine in workmanship and preservation, might be worth from £100 to £200; as its possession would be coveted even by the greatest national collections in Europe. Addison, in speaking of the indifference of most well-educated men of his time, to the science of numismatics, says that most of them would prefer the possession of a *jacobus* (the guinea of his day) to a "first bronze" of Otho, and think themselves very sensible men in doing so.

On the coins of Vitellius, who displaced Otho, in the year 69 A. D., portraits both of his father and children occur.

After the short and disgraceful reigns of three men who had each been the companions and sharers of the pleasures and crimes of Nero, Vespasian, originally sprung from an obscure family, ascended the imperial throne in the year 69 A. D. He had received a military appointment in Britain even during the reign of Claudius; and was proconsul in Africa in the reign of Nero; consequently, he became emperor late in life; dying at the age of 69, after a reign of ten years. His coins bear a well-executed portrait; a venerable and expressive head; and some of the reverses are fine. One large bronze, in particular, has a fine representation of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; which, having been destroyed by fire, was rebuilt by Vespasian. But the most interesting coins of his reign are those with reverses commemorating the capture of Judea, and the building of the Colosseum, of both of which types examples will be found in Plate 7, Nos. 5 and 6.

The short and beneficent reign of Titus, who succeeded his father in 79 A. D., is recorded by fine coins. One large brass especially, with a noble laureated portrait and the inscription, IMP.(erator) T.(itus) CAES.(ar) VESP.(asianus) AVG.(ustus) P.(ontifex) M.(aximus) TR.(ibunitia) P.(otestate) P.(ater) P.(atriæ) COS. (for consul) VIII. "The Emperor Titus Cæsar Vespasian Augustus, High Pontiff, holding the Tribunitian Power, Consul for the eighth time." The eight years of his consulate, corresponds to the year 80 of our era, 833 of Rome, and the second and last of his reign. On the reverse is a figure of Hope, with no inscription, but S. C. There are fine coins also struck in honour of his daughter Julia.

His father, Vespasian, always preserved the simplicity of his early habits, and even after his acceptance of the empire, always passed a portion of the year at a small villa at a short distance from Rome, where he was born. To this small paternal estate, Titus also, when he found his end approaching, caused himself to be carried. The memory of these two reigns, which had afforded but too short a respite from the horrors of those which had preceded them, was eclipsed by the monstrous tyranny of Domitian, the brother of Titus, who assumed the purple in the

* Though the first bronze of Nero is so fine, his gold and silver is generally rather inferior.

year 81 A. D. Notwithstanding the oppression of this disgraceful reign of fifteen years, the arts continued to flourish. The large brass of Domitian are very fine coins. One reverse has the emperor sitting upon a kind of raised stage (suggestum), distributing the fruits of the earth to the people, who are represented by two figures draped in the Roman manner. This distribution of "first fruits" was usually made previously to the periodic games, as shown in an appropriate inscription. There are fine coins struck in honour of his empress Domitia.

The mild and beneficent Nerva was, by a fortunate chance, chosen to succeed the monster Domitian, in the year 96 A. D., who, though above sixty years of age and of timid character, yet found sufficient courage in the rectitude of his intentions, to enable him to resist the encroachments and insolence of the Prætorian guard; whose pay had been greatly raised by Domitian; and to make many other useful reforms, without having recourse to harsh or oppressive measures. Yet, perceiving the mightiness of the task imposed upon him, he determined to support himself by the ablest assistance; the fidelity of which should be secured by the possession of an equal interest in the welfare of the state. Regardless therefore of his own family connexions, or of Roman or even Italian birth, he looked round the wide circle of the empire, for a man worthy of the trust he wished to confide to him, and fixed at last upon Trajan, then commanding on the Rhine, who was by birth a Spaniard. Proceeding to the capitol, he addressed the assemblage in a strong voice, in these words, "May my present act be conducive to the welfare of the senate and the Roman people, and my own; I adopt Marcus Ulpius Nerva Trajan," and immediately in full senate, proclaimed him Cæsar, or heir presumptive.

To Trajan he sent a messenger, who also bore as a present, a diamond (adamante gemma), then much more precious than now, the lapidaries of that period not having discovered a mode of polishing a stone so hard; and consequently it was only such as were found naturally polished, that were available; a rare accident which rendered them of immense rarity and value.

Nerva died after a reign of only sixteen months after he had nominated Trajan his successor. But notwithstanding the shortness of his reign, he has left fine coins both Roman and provincial; those of Asia being very common; his first bronze, has the portrait with the usual inscriptions. One very interesting reverse has a figure of Rome, seated, holding in her hand a victory, the inscription is "Roma renascens" (reviving Rome), a legend that must have been indeed expressive to the Roman people, after the grinding and sanguinary tyranny of Domitian.

The reign of Trajan, commencing in the year 98 A. D., forms a grand epoch in the coinage of Rome; for the victories, the magnificent buildings, and permanent conquests of his long and glorious reign, are nearly all recorded on the magnificent series of coins bearing the name and portrait of Trajan. One very remarkable medallion, of the size of the first bronze, is preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationale, at Paris, which is, however, not supposed to have been intended for money, as it is surrounded by a broad flat rim; which induces M. Visconti to believe that it was intended for the decoration of the staff of an eagle, or standard, but its dimensions appear too small for that purpose. The obverse has a fine portrait head, the shoulders clothed in the toga, and the inscription IMP(eratori), CAES(ari), NERVAE TRAIANO AVG(usto) COS(consuli) V. P(ater) P(atriæ). The reverse

has the emperor on horseback, beautifully executed, followed by three soldiers, and preceded by a female holding a cornucopiæ, with the inscription, ADVENTVS AVG.(usti), "The advent of Augustus" expressing that whenever he came, he came not only in power, but in beneficence.

The noble first bronze of Trajan, of which the British Museum possesses a specimen, commemorating the subjection of Parthia, and giving to that country a new sovereign, with the legend "Rex Parthis datus" (a king of the Parthians bestowed), accompanied by a beautifully-executed group representing the event, is a most interesting coin; as is the one that records the completion of the aquaduct, bringing the acqua Trajana to Rome; with a host of others far too numerous to detail. But many of them are monuments of the greatest historical interest and value; and they are so numerous, that the few samples I am about to notice cannot be considered even a selection. The Aureus, of which No. 9, on Plate 7, is an impression, was struck on the completion of the celebrated forum bearing his name; and represents the entrance to that magnificent construction, with the inscription "FORVM TRAIAN." The specimens 7 and 8 in the same Plate, are impressions from a large brass of very finished execution. The portrait is surrounded with the usual inscription; and the reverse has an "adventus augusti," as previously described. The style of which, though the execution is good, will not bear comparison with the grander "decursio" of the Nero period.

Within the forum, the erection of which is commemorated upon the gold coin just described, was the magnificent column, at once the monument of the victorious career of Trajan, and his tomb; for in the circular pedestal at the top of the column that supported the golden statue, was a funereal chamber; in which was placed his heart; brought embalmed from *Selinunte*, by his widow Plotina, to be thus—

> "Buried in air, the deep blue sky of Rome,
> And looking to the stars:
> * * * * *
> The last of those who o'er the whole earth reigned,
> The Roman globe— for after, none sustained,
> But yielded back his conquests.

The noble column-tomb which Byron here alludes to, is one of the few perfect relics of Roman grandeur; and with the exception of the displacement of the gold statue of the emperor, to make room for that of St. Peter, is still as perfect as the day it was built; with the grand spiral picture of the Dacian triumphs, in marble bas relief, winding its pictorial history from base to summit. This fine design was copied by the artist who afterwards erected the Antonine column. It was imitated again at Constantinople, in the Theodosian column; and in modern times it was copied in bronze by the French, in one of their finest works—the column of the Place Vendome. On the coins struck to commemorate the completion of the column of Trajan, that monument is so accurately represented, that even if it was, unfortunately, half in ruins, it might be restored from the copy of the design thus preserved. He struck coins in honour of his exemplary wife Plotina, with the legend (fides Augusta), "the fidelity of the empress," for the first time, perhaps, appropriate, on the coin of an Empress of Rome. He also struck coins, on the reverse of which he placed the head of his father. There are coins also with the portrait of Marciana and Matidia, the sister and niece of Trajan.

One of the remarkable features of the coinage of Trajan is the restoration of several Republican coins, whose historic devices he thought worthy of preservation.*

The character of Roman art at this period is peculiar; it has lost somewhat of the bold grandeur, which especially characterizes the age of Claudius and Nero; but on the other hand has acquired a delicacy and finish which are peculiar to it, and possess a great charm. The famous Apollo Belvidere is supposed to be a work of this period; but possibly copied from a Grecian *bronze*, as the thinness of the mantle has been thought to indicate. But the face is rather Italian than Greek, and many a youthful shepherd of the modern Campagna, might still serve as a model for a new Apollo; so like is the style of face still found in parts of that district to the noble countenance of the unrivalled Apollo. Works of the same delicate and finished character, are those, subsequently torn from the arches of his forum, to decorate the triumphal buildings of Constantine; when artists no longer existed capable of erecting worthy trophies to the arms of Rome.

Plotina had never rendered Trajan a father, and therefore proposed to him the adoption of *Hadrian*, who had married his grand-niece Sabina, the grand-daughter of his sister Marciana.

Hadrian ascended the imperial throne in the year 117 A. D., and fortunately possessed a capacity equal to wielding the mighty sceptre that had fallen within his grasp. Up to the time of Hadrian, the frontiers of the empire had been continually extending; and the victories and conquests of the last reign had materially contributed to widen the vast extent of Roman dominion. But in this career of conquest, legislation had been slumbering; and the centre of the vast fabric was consequently preying upon itself by intestine disorganization, while the exterior limits were brilliant with renewed victories. Hadrian perceived this; and determined that his should be a reign of peace and organization, rather than one of aggression and annexation. He, therefore, recalled the legions east of the Euphrates; destroyed Trajan's famous bridge over the Danube; and built the celebrated wall across the island of Britain, to shut out the barbarians of the north. He remodelled the great central administration in Rome; and travelled through every province of the empire, visiting every military station, and organizing and consolidating every branch of government as he went; until he had constructed an administrative system so complete, that it maintained the vast empire intact, with little innovation, till the time of Dioclesian. Hadrian was the first of the Roman emperors who wore a beard; Dion says, in emulation of the custom of the philosophers, whose society he sought, and to whose wisdom he pretended to attain. But Spartianus, with better means of knowing, declares that it was to conceal scrofulous scars in his neck. His occasional cruelties, and excessive love of pleasure, tarnished an otherwise glorious reign of above twenty years. His remains were placed in the magnificent mausoleum which he had prepared for himself; the ancient imperial one of Augustus not admitting of the introduction of more occupants; being already filled with the urns of the imperial race. But little of the ancient splendour of the tomb of Hadrian, with its "crowd of statues and forest of columns" remains; yet, as the

* Trajan restored the gold coins of J. Cæsar, Augustus, those with the portrait of Agrippa, Tiberius, Claudius, Galba, Vespasian, and Titus; omitting those of Nero, Otho, Vitellius, and Domitian. He restored the consular, or family coins of the families Aemelia, Caecilia Claudia, Cornuficia, Julia, Lucilia, Memmia, Numonia, Tribonia, Valeria, and several others.

modern Castle of St. Angelo,* it is still one of the most remarkable features of modern Rome.

Having described at some length the coins of Trajan, I can do no more than refer to the fine series left by Hadrian; on which, his travels, as Gibbon reminds us, if history had neglected to record them, and their noble object, would have found imperishable monuments in the beautiful devices and inscriptions with which they are enriched.† These coins are of a similar style of art to those of Trajan, and are perhaps even more beautifully finished. Indeed, his coinage of gold, silver, and copper, taken together, may perhaps be pronounced the finest and most complete series of any single reign.‡

For Hadrian's long and peaceful reign gave him more time to exercise his natural taste for the fine arts, especially architecture, to which the still magnificent remains of his villa, at Tivoli, bear exquisite testimony in their ruined beauty amid the lovely scenery of the Sabine hills. Among the finest of his coins is the large brass, with the fine reverse of the emperor seated on a raised chair of state, with an attendant genius distributing presents from a cornucopiæ to two figures wearing the toga, with the inscription "Locupletatore orbis Terrarum" (the enricher of the universe), and S. C. The portraits are always fine; and the coin struck in memory of, and representing the apotheosis of his wife Sabina, borne to heaven between the wings of an eagle, is an especially interesting coin both as regards style and type. The eastern and even Grecian coins of the Roman emperors are generally poor in comparison to those of Rome, yet one struck at Alexandria by Hadrian, having the portrait of his empress Sabina on the reverse, is very good. Impressions from this coin will be found numbered 5 and 6 on Plate 8.

Some of the coins of Hadrian (struck in the east) have the portrait of his favourite, Antinöus, and some of those bearing the portrait of his adopted son Aelius, who died before him, are of very beautiful execution.

This period, that of the greatest extension of the Roman empire, seems the proper place to refer to the coins struck under Roman authority in the east, which are known under the general designation of "Imperial Greek;" and to this series, and a brief notice of what are termed colonial coins, the next short chapter will be devoted.

* It was converted into a fortress in the middle ages.

† There are gold and silver coins of Hadrian, struck in honour of his adopted son Ælius, who died before him, which are among the finest of his reign, though some of the denarii are plated on copper; and there are others of his favourite Antinous almost equally fine.

‡ It is remarked by Mr. Akerman, that while several copper coins of Hadrian allude to his arrival in Britain, and his victories over the Picts, none of his gold or silver relate to those events. A fine copper of the Adventus type (see pages 158 and 159), records his arrival in Britain, by the inscription ADVENTVS. AVGVSTI. BRITANNAE.; and another appears struck in honour of the army of Britain, with the inscription EXERCITVS. BRITANNICI.

CHAPTER XVIII.

COINS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE CONTINUED.—IMPERIAL GREEK COINS.

THE coins of European Greece after it became a Roman province, and that portion of the Macedonian empire in the east which submitted to the Romans, are termed imperial Greek. The types and inscriptions of these coins refer principally to the imperial domination of Rome; but the inscriptions are still Greek, and many of the secondary types of the reverse are still those adopted by the states or cities in the time of their ancient independence. These remarks apply also to the islands of the Grecian Archipelago, and to Egypt, Grecianised by the Ptolemies. As the several countries were successively brought into Roman subjection by force or diplomacy, and formed into Roman provinces, a governor was appointed over each, and a mint established in the chief cities; and what appears singular and nearly incomprehensible, while the coinage of Rome itself attained great excellence during the first centuries of its intimate connexion with Greece and the kingdoms founded on her eastern empire, yet in those countries themselves, the art languished, and under Roman rule nothing of high excellence was produced, the great mass of the "Imperial Greek" coinage being of the coarsest workmanship, and generally of copper. Of the Roman period there is no Greek gold, except those of a few tributary or dependant kings,* who used the Greek character in their inscriptions; and the silver was confined to a few chief cities, such as Antioch, Tarsus, Tyre, Sidon, &c., and also Alexandria. The small copper coins of Chios bear their name, Assarion, meaning a portion of the Roman As (see woodcut on page 105).

The coins termed imperial Greek have generally the head of the emperor on the obverse, surrounded by a Greek inscription, generally literally translated from a Roman one—as ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ, for Emperor; ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ, a translation of the *meaning*, for the surname Augustus; and ΚΑΙΣΑΡ for Cæsar, &c. The reverses are not numerous, and when not Roman are very commonly a temple, with the title ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣ—a title which certain cities assumed as guardians of the local shrine; more literally translated, temple cleaners; a distinction eagerly sought, as a celebrated shrine brought much wealth to the place, as was the case at Ephesus, and other cities where a venerated idol or oracle existed: just as at a Loretto, or St. Jago of modern times.

There are Macedonian coins of this class which have the head of Alexander the Great for obverse—a poor imitation of the old Grecian type of the Hercules' head,

* Those, for instance, of the kings of the Bosphorus—among which may be noticed the gold coin lately in the cabinet of Mr. Thomas, with a laureated head of Claudius on the obverse, and that of Britannicus on the reverse, as those of the emperor, and the Cæsar, or heir apparent. The name of the king, Cotys, is only expressed by the letters BA. KO. for ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΟΤΟΥ "(money) *of King Coty's.*" About the time of Domitian, the portraits of these kings are found on their coins.

with lion-skin head-dress (see Plate 4, No. 5), the inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ; and on reverse two temples, with inscriptions ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ. Β. ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ "(company of Macedonians) neocores* or temple cleaners, for a second time"(B. for bis). These coins are supposed to be of about the period of the Emperor Caracalla, 212 A. D., an impression (No. 4, Plate 8), shows another coin with the inscription ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ.

The coins that fall into the class called imperial Greek, though rarely fine are very abundant, as they are not confined to the principal cities, but were also struck in towns of inferior note. The eastern provinces of Rome formed a great portion of the civilized world, and the coins are consequently very numerous, but being less interesting than others in point of types and workmanship, it may readily be conceived that I cannot find space in this volume to enter into minute details of them, or even attempt an outline of their rise, progress, and extinction, which would in fact require, even in an abridged form, an entire volume ; for the district of Phrygia, alone, had fifty cities holding the privilege of issuing coins, Lydia thirty, Cilicia twenty, and so on of other provinces, such as Galatia, Cappadocia, Pamphilia, Bithynia, Phœnicia, &c.

These coins are divided into separate classes, as those of provinces, colonies, and *municipia*, or free cities. In addition to those coined by the provinces or cities under Roman Authorization, there was also in many provinces a class of coins strictly Roman, issued for general circulation throughout the province, such as the Syrian pieces, with the inscription ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ϹΥΡΙΑϹ (the community of Syria), and the small coinage struck for circulation in Judœa, with the inscription ΚΑΙϹΑΡΟϹ, that is, money of Cæsar, the word *money* being understood; and such

(See also page 154).

also is the coinage of Macedonia, inscribed with the names of the first and second province, into which it was then divided.

This class of coins may be best illustrated by a description of a coin of Trajan, which has the head of the emperor on one side, and a female head with a turretted crown on the other,† the inscription round the head of the emperor being ΑΥΤΟΚ (*ρατωρ*) ΚΑΙϹ(*αρ*) ΝΕΡ(*ουα*) ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟϹ. ϹΕΒ(*αστος*) ΓΣΡΜ(*ανικος*) being a Greek translation abbreviated as shown, of "The Emperor Cæsar Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus." The reverse has ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ϹΥΡΙΑϹ the community of Syria. Another set of coins belonging to this class is that of the cistophoræ, so called from the type of the reverse, which consists of the *cistus*, or mystic chest, of the temple Bacchus, which contained the sacred vessels of the temple. These coins it is supposed were coined originally by an association of towns of Asia Minor for a

* From *νεώς* a temple, and *χορεω* to clean.

† In Roman times, the turretted heads formerly belonging to the independent cities of Smyrna, Damascus, &c., were used as the symbol of the entire province of Syria.

mutual currency, as were the coins of the Achain league. Some suppose they were coined at Rhodes, however this may be, they were in very general circulation in Asia at the time of the Roman conquests, and being perhaps rather above the ordinary standard weight, or perhaps according better with their own standard, that of the denarius, the Romans on their subjugation of Asia Minor, only took the tribute money in this especial coin. The consequence of this arrangement was, that the raw silver was collected from the different tributary districts, and by mutual arrangement coined into these cistophoræ for payment of their common tribute. There are cistophoræ with heads of various emperors on the obverse commencing with the triumvir Antony. The accompanying woodcut exhibits a cistophorus of Appamea, in Phrygia; the reverse is of the general character of those of the cistophoræ. The obverse of this coin has the cistus, or mystic chest of Bacchus, with a serpent issuing from it. Livi speaks of these tetradrachms, and states that they were the only coins taken in tribute from the Asiatic provinces.

The Imperial Greek coins extend from the age of Augustus to the reign of Gallienus, after which they were superceded by coins struck in Rome, or by mint masters, who struck them for the provinces with the same types and inscriptions as at Rome, as was the case, with slight variations, in the western provinces. The mints of Gaul were celebrated, and some of them existed and continued their operations after the dissolution of the Roman empire, as late as the reign of Louis le Debonnair; for Roman establishments and civilization were less overturned and obliterated in Gaul than even in Italy.

The Imperial Greek series of Alexandria, requires perhaps especial notice, although of very rough execution, because it did not cease, like the other coinages of the east, with the epoch of Gallienus, but continued even to the time of Constantine; it presents some characteristic types, such as the heads Jupiter Ammon, Isis, animals and plants held sacred in Egypt, the God Canopus. Another interesting feature in the imperial Alexandrian series, is, that from Augustus to Diocletian, they are dated in Greek numerals with the year of the emperor's reign.

A fine Imperial Greek coin exists of the island of Astypalæa, near Rhodes; it is a superb large brass of Tiberius, probably struck while he resided at Rhodes. This island was called by the Greeks Θεῶν τράπεζα (the table of the Gods), from the beautiful flowers it produced, which rendered it a delightful resort. Of a fine period of Roman art, the reign of Claudius, a good specimen of this class of coin may be cited; it is one struck in honour of Messalina, wife of Claudius, at Nicæa, in Bithynia, and has her portrait with an inscription, which may be translated "Messalina

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 8.

COINS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, BOTH ROMAN AND GREEK.

No. 1.—The obverse of a sestertius (page 188) of Nero, who began to reign 54 A.D. It is of the finest period of Roman art. The abbreviated inscription of the name and titles is in the usual style (see pages 156 and 198), and stands "NERO CLAVD(ius) CAESAR AVG.(ustus) GER(manicus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia P(otestate) IMP.(erator) P(ater) P(atriæ)." (Nero Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus. High Pontiff, *holding the* Tribunitian Power, Emperor, Father of the Country).

No. 2.—The reverse of a sestertius of Nero. This type is called the decursio type; it symbolizes the emperor in the act of visiting different parts of the empire, accompanied by an escort of cavalry (see page 195).

No. 3.—The reverse of another sestertius of Nero, struck to commemorate the construction of the port of Ostia, the ruins of which still exist. The river-god is, of course, the Tiber, at the mouth of which the port of Ostia was constructed.

No. 4.—The reverse of a Roman coin struck in Greece, a class of coins termed Imperial Greek. No. 4 bears a type for which some of the Imperial Greek series are remarkable; it is a temple, accompanied by the word ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣ (NEŌKOROS), a title which Greek citizens occasionally assumed, as guardians of some celebrated shrine. The word means literally, temple-cleaners. The obverse of Imperial Greek coins generally bears the portrait of the Roman emperor (see page 162).

Nos. 5.—The obverse of a coin of *Potin*, or base silver of Hadrian, struck at Alexandria. The coin is of uncertain denomination and value. Round the head of Hadrian, on the obverse, is the inscription ΑΥΤ. (ΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ) ΚΑΙC(ΑΡ) ΤΡΑ(ΙΑΝΟC). ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟ͞C. CΕΒ(ΑCΤΟC). (The Emperor Cæsar Trajan Adrian Augustus), (see page 162). No. 7 is a similar coin of his empress; round the head of Sabina the inscription is CABEINA, CEBACTH (Sabina Augusta); and in the field L. IH. the year eighteen of the reign, (see page 108), a very valuable addition seldom omitted on the Imperial Greek coinage of Alexandria (see pages 160 and 164).

No. 7.—A large bronze coin of Septimus Severus,* probably a treble sestertius. The inscription is ΑΥΤ (ΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ) ΚΑΙC(ΑΡ) Α(for Lucius) CΕΠΤ(for Septimus) CΕΟΥΕΡΟC (Severus). ΠΕΡ (the first letters of Perperene where the coin was struck), (the Emperor Cæsar, Lucius, Septimus Severus, Perperene. This coin exhibits the inferiority of the provincial coinage.

No. 8.—The reverse of a denarius of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia. The well-known mountain at the back of the city forms the principal feature of the type. The inscription is ΥΠΑΤΟC. Γ. (Consul for the third time, alluding to the Emperor, whose portrait occupies the obverse of the coin).

No. 9.—A coin of second bronze of a Roman military colony. The type consists of a female figure, holding two standards, marked respectively as those of the fifth and thirteenth legion, beneath them are the symbols of the respective legions, a lion, and an eagle. The date of the colony is marked as AN. II. (the second year); above the standards is the inscription, in this instance imperfect, containing the name of the colony COLONIA DACIA (the Dacian colony).

No. 10.—Another coin of a Roman colony. Some have thought that civic colonies were distinguished from military ones by the type of oxen yoked to a plough, with which a single furrow was turned up, round the extent of the colony, and which formed a sacred boundary; the operation being performed by a person veiled as a priest (see page 165). The large letters C C A express Colonia Cæsaris Augusti, (the colony of Cæsarea Augusta), the II VIR expresses Duumvir, the personage having control over the coinage of the colony.

* Alluded to by mistake at page 173 as a coin of Gallienus.

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Augusta, the new Juno ;" on the reverse a temple, with the name of the pro-consul C. Cadius Rufus, and NEIKAEΩ (of the Niceans).

The specimens on Plate 8, with their accompanying description, will convey a good general idea of the Imperial Greek coinage; the finest collection of which is contained in the Bibliotheque Nationale of France, which accounts for their great predominance in the illustrations to Pellerin's work.

The Imperial Greek coinage is frequently found countermarked, in a similar manner to the Greek coins of the independent or *autonomous* period. The description of the custom in the article on Greek types (Chapter XIV., page 107), will, therefore, be sufficient.

ROMAN COLONIAL COINS.

The Roman colonial coins, have a few features which must not be passed over here, though few of them, if any, are well executed. They indicate, by their types, whether it is an agricultural or a military colony for which they were issued; the coins of the former are distinguished by a figure driving a plough, drawn by oxen, in which manner it was customary to mark out the extent of the boundary of the new colony (see Plate 8, No. 9). The military colonies have on the reverse one, two, or three legionaries, bearing their ensigns, with their numbers, and suitable inscriptions. Vaillant published a work exclusively devoted to Roman colonial coins.

The greatest number of colonial coins belong to Spain. The colonial was a form of provincial government which prevailed principally in the Augustan age. Spain is also the chief seat of Western Municipia, or towns governed by their own laws. The privilege of striking their own coins was withdrawn from most of these cities by Caligula ; and after the time of Gallienus both colonial and municipal coins entirely disappear. The still existing Spanish coins of this character belong chiefly to Carthago nova, now *Carthagena*—Caesarea Augusta, corrupted *Saragossa*, and Emerita, the present Merida.

The quantity of Roman copper money in Spain must have been enormous; Roman coins being in circulation even to the present day—worn it is true, in most cases, to flat pieces of copper. The lively author to the "Gatherings from Spain" informs us, that "the Maravedi, or small copper money, is represented by *anything;* even an old button, passing among multitudinous specimens of Spanish mints of all periods, Moorish, and even Roman money being still current."

There are also coins of the colony of Nemausus, in Gaul; the only colony permitted to strike silver. And others, of Panormus, now Palermo, in Sicily; Carthage ; Corinth ; Philippi, and Pella, in Macedonia; and Troas, Iconium, &c., in Asia Minor ; and many other places.

On the gold and silver money of the provinces, "permissu Cæsaris" is found; and on others "decreto Decurionum." The *towns*, proud of these privileges, placed it on their coins ; whilst no such inscriptions are found on money struck in Rome. *Rome* did not require the acknowledgment of privileges which were an inherent right. The name Roma also occurs on *provincial* coins of the imperial period, but never on those of Rome itself, till towards the end of the empire (see page 150).

There are many Spanish and Carthaginian coins of the imperial period with Punic characters, showing them to have been still understood and in use at that

time. Pellerin says there is more difficulty in distinguishing characters that are *Punic*, than the pure Phœnician characters. Some few of the types of colonial coins are singular; for instance, a crocodile chained to a palm-tree on those of Nemausus, emblematic of the subjection of Egypt, a type common on the coins of Augustus and Agrippa; the fortified gate of the city of Emerita in Spain, the gate bearing the inscription Emerita Augusta; the sacred stone called El-gabal, with an eagle standing on it, carried to Rome by Elagabalus, and from which he took his surname, occurs on coins of *Emisa*; other coins of the same place show the stone placed within a temple on an altar (see page 112). On the imperial Greek coins of Samos is seen a deity of Archaic form representing the Samian Juno. There was Roman money coined in the Greek provinces, with Latin inscriptions, but this was money intended exclusively for the payment of the army with a view to keep up their interest in the old language, and national recollections, during a long residence at foreign stations.

The Roman colonial coins frequently bore Latin inscriptions even when the language of the country was Greek, and they have generally the word *colonia* abbreviated as COL, or in Greek characters KOA. The following is the description of an *autonomic* colonial coin, a colony governed by its own laws, of a late date; it is of the city of Viminiacum in Mœsia, it bears the portrait of the Emperor Gordianus Pius, with the inscription IMP(erator) PIVS. FEL(ix) AVG(ustus); on the reverse is a female genius holding two standards, inscribed with the respective numbers VII and IIII, at her feet are a lion and a bull. The numbers are those of the two

legions represented by the two standards, and the lion and bull are their respective symbols; beneath the figure is AN. IIII., "the year four" of the colony. The privileges of an autonomous colony were conferred upon this place by Gordian; it is situated in Upper Mœsia, on the river Ister. The inscription of the reverse is P. M. S. COL. VIM., to be read "Provinciæ Mœsiæ Superioris Colonia Viminiacum," (of the province of Upper Mœsia, the colony of Viminiacum). Great Numbers of the coins of this colony are found in the Austrian and Hungarian territories.

In the *exergue*, or lower part of the coin, where AN. IIII. stands in the above woodcut, colonial coins have generally the initial letters of the place of mintage, as P. LON., which is supposed to be P(ecunia) LON(dinesis), or money of the London mint, which, however, is only found on coins of the late epoch of Constantine; sometimes it is M. L. Other provincial and colonial mints marked the coinage in a similar manner. The Emperor Commodus declared he would make a colony of Rome, and a coin exists, describing Rome as a colony, on which is the portrait of the emperor driving the oxen, usual on colonial coins.

CHAPTER XIX.

COINS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, FROM THE AGE OF ANTONINUS TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE.

I have made this epoch the commencement of my second division of the Imperial coinage of Rome, because it appears a natural one in a numismatic point of view; first, because the style of art was changed, the high relief of the Nero period being re-adopted, but accompanied by a minute attention to details, which generally marks the commencement of a complete decadence, even if grandly treated. The designs of the coins of this period, from the accession of Antoninus Pius to the end of the reign of Commodus, strongly exhibit these characteristics; after which, Roman art rapidly and permanently declines. This period is also remarkable as the one in which it became the very general custom of striking large medallions; pieces of much greater dimensions than the "first bronze;" a custom which late emperors continued in gold and silver. I shall speak of the reigns of the three first Antonines together, taking one view of the character of the coins of the three reigns. Antoninus Pius succeeded Hadrian in the year 138 A.D.; Marcus Aurelius, with whom was associated Lucius Verus, began to reign in 161 A.D.; and Commodus in the year 180 A.D. Some of the medallions of these reigns are very fine, especially one of Antoninus Pius, in the French collection; it is a piece larger than the ordinary first bronze, and has a noble portrait-head of the emperor, with a singular architectural reverse, representing a temple of Bacchus, in the florid and somewhat degraded, though still imposing style, of the period; it is beautifully executed, and though it has not the elegance of treatment of some of the reverses of Trajan, nor the grandeur of some of the period of Nero, is yet an excellent work. The specimens of this period, of which I have given impressions, are extra-sized medallions; whilst the bronze coins of Nero are simply the common first bronze, which must be kept in view, or this circumstance, without consideration, might lead to a false estimate of the relative merit of the art of the two periods. Coins with the portrait of Faustina, the wife of Antoninus Pius, are perhaps more numerous than any other. A gold coin on Plate 9, struck in honour of her daughter, Faustina the younger, wife of Marcus Aurelius, gives a good idea of the general style of the Faustina coins.

There is a bronze medallion of this period which ought to be mentioned on account of the elaborate reverse, which, according to Eckhel, represents Coriolanus at the head of the Volscian army receiving the Roman deputation led by his mother Veturia and his wife Volumnia.

The coins of Marcus Aurelius are very numerous, for the empire was prosperous under the sway of the *philosopher of philosophers*, as he was afterwards called by Justinian; and he, at all events, is an example of the truth of the axiom of Plato, "Empires are happy when they are governed by philosophers." One of the most interesting events connected with this reign and that of his predecessor Antoninus is,

that they caused the persecutions of the Christians to cease; and their letters on the subject have been preserved by Eusebius.

On a fine bronze medallion of M. Aurelius with the portrait-head young, is a beautiful reverse representing Hercules holding a trophy, drawn by four centaurs, each bearing a symbol of the four seasons, and the inscription is "Temporum Felicitas (the happiness of the times, or seasons). There are medallions of his predecessor, on which his own portraits appears on the reverse, quite young, without beard. The bronze medals and large coins of Faustina the younger, wife of Aurelius, are very common, and some of them very fine. She was the first empress who received the title of "mother of the soldiers," Mater Castrorum. Two beautiful juvenile heads beautifully executed on the obverse, of a first bronze, represent her sons Annius and Commodus—the former died at an early age. When the vices of the empress were suggested to Aurelius as a sufficient cause of repudiation, he said, "If I repudiate her I must return her dowry," which was the empire, for she was the only child of Antoninus. A beautiful head of Aurelius occurs on an aureus of his reign. (see Plate 9, No. 1).

The fine head of Lucius Verus, for some time the colleague of Aurelius in the empire, is well known by the magnificent colossal marble bust in the Louvre; which is sufficient to prove that if the art of sculpture generally had began to sink at this period, there were yet brilliant exceptions. Some of his portraits on the larger medallions of this period are nearly as fine, as will be seen by the specimens on Plate 9, No. 4, and the same remarks may apply to the fine coins and medallions of Commodus, the reverses of whose coinage are very interesting and various.* That on a fine medallion referring to victories in Britain, No. 7, on Plate 9, being among the most remarkable; the inscription recites the usual titles, preceded by the word Britannia; the fine portrait on the obverse is surrounded by an inscription of the usual character, in which he assumes the surname of Britannicus. The empire had been sustained during the reign of Aurelius by brilliant successes in the east, but during the ignominious reign of Commodus the permanent decline began. The death of this tyrant occurred in the following singular manner—a child playing near his couch picked up his tablets, which had fallen from beneath his pillow, and on which he was accustomed to inscribe the names of those who were to die, that he might seize on their places or their wealth, or satisfy some feeling of revenge; Martia, his concubine, taking these tablets from the child, found there inscribed, her own name, and those of the last remaining friends of the great Aurelius. This discovery was the signal of his assassination.

OF THE BRONZE MEDALLIONS OF THE ROMAN COINAGE.

One of my reasons for making the period of the Antonines a separate epoch in the classification attempted in this volume is, that the issue of the large pieces, now termed medallions, first became general about that time. It is true there are medallions of the earlier Cæsars, of Nero, Tiberius, and even Augustus, but they are very rare, and there is every reason to believe that very few were originally struck; while with the period of the Antonines they begin to be comparatively abundant. In the beginning of the modern study of coins, all the large Roman copper coins

* Winkelman mentions with admiration the medallions of Commodus.

(or more properly bronze), received the name of *medals*, for it was not deemed possible, comparing their size and beauty with European coins of the end of the fifteenth century, that they could be common money; after they were proved to be so, the argument to the contrary was termed in the learned article of the Encyclopedie "une absurdité revoltante." Notwithstanding this very decided verdict of the Encyclopedie, there was still a pretty general conviction that the copper pieces, larger than the *first bronze*, were not current money. But the disputants, after taking great pains to prove that many of the coins, considered *medallions* by Erizzo and others, ought to be considered *coins* (or rather *medals*), for there was still confusion in that word, determined that, though the larger pieces may be termed medallions for the convenience of classification, yet (with few exceptions) all such pieces passed as money. For the Senatus Consulto, always found on the three sizes of bronze, is frequently, if not always, found also upon the medallions; and if on the *Greek medallions* of the Roman emperors we do not always find the S. C. it is generally replaced by the equivalents ΕΠΙ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ, ΕΠΙ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΟΥ, ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟϹ, &c. &c., expressing that it was struck either by the authority of the proconsul or civic magistrate, &c., as deputies of the senate. Many also are *rubbed* to the same extent as ordinary coins, and no doubt from the same cause, which leaves little doubt that they were used as money.

Some have endeavoured to separate medals and coins by the Roman terms, nummi and numismata, but the fact is these were synonymous terms, and the Romans do not appear to have had any word to express a *medal* as distinct from a coin, which would certainly have been the case had the distinction existed. Marcus Aurelius struck a great number of these extra-sized coins, or *medallions* as they are termed, but we do not find them spoken of by any other name than coins; whilst Capitolinus, a nearly cotemporary historian, states that Lucius Verus, the associate of Aurelius in the empire, amused himself in the public taverns by throwing *large* pieces of *money* (*nummos maximos*) to break the glasses of the drinkers, just as Rochester might have flung about the five-guinea pieces of Charles II., as a right royal pastime.

On Roman medallions both of the early and later periods of the empire, the figure of Moneta is occasionally found; or, *three* female deities, superintending the *gold*, the *silver*, and the *copper* coinage, often accompanied by the customary legend "Moneta Aug." (money of Augustus). In addition to this testimony I may mention that medallions struck in Lesbos, of Lucius Verus, Commodus, and Crispinus, are *countermarked* by other places, as was usual to give the money of one place legal currency in another. But although these evidences must prove that most of the extra-sized pieces were coins, yet there are perhaps some few that were not so, for instance the great gold medallion of Justinian three inches in diameter, and the relief several lines high, in the French national collection. And another piece of similar dimensions in the same cabinet, a gold medal of Tetricus,* the *belieres* or loops attached to which, seem to prove that they were ornaments, perhaps the *dona militaria*, frequently bestowed on dis-

* The fine medallions alluded to were stolen with nearly the whole of the gold coins of the French collection, a few years ago, and but a small portion of them recovered. The magnificent monuments alluded to were among those lost.

tinguished officers, in the same manner as our military and naval medals. Some medallions of this class have a border of a different medal, which has evidently been soldered to the centre piece before being placed in the die.

Roman medallions in silver are very rare till the time of Constantine, but there is one of Lucius Verus in the French collection which is very fine. Patin remarks that those of Constantine and of Constantius are of large size, but *thin*. Erizzo was the first to engrave a series of medallions; Tristan afterwards engraved several, and Patin has some fine ones in his "tresor." Carcari published those of the French collection, and De Camps afterwards published his, with their excellent descriptions by Vaillant. Carpegna's medallions are accompanied by the descriptions of Bellori.

The grand gold medallion of Augustus, found at Herculaneum, appears by the weight to be the quadruple of the Aureus, and so are the gold medallions of Commodus and Domitian in the Bibliotheque Nationale; these, therefore, may safely be considered money, perhaps they were just what our five-pound pieces are; in fact, money, but not circulated, or even struck in quantity; and those who received them by favour, perhaps, generally kept them as beautiful specimens of art. It is difficult to separate them from ancient medals struck to commemorate particular events. Some have thought that medallions were never struck by the colonies, but Vaillant has engraved a medallion of Augustus struck at Saragossa, and one of Livia struck at Patras, as well as two or three other colonial examples.

Small pieces coined to scatter among the people on great occasions were called missilia (or missals, things to be thrown). Liberalitas I. II. or III. on coins which have been coined for public distribution, are not found on medallions, which were probably distributed privately, by favour; they are, no doubt, *pieces de largesse*, and were intended to pass current. Cassiodorus, speaking of these distributions, in describing the regulations of the court of Theodoric, which was modelled on that of the earlier emperors, says, "Verum hanc liberalitatem nostram alio decoras obsequio, ut figura vultus nostri metallis usualibus imprimatur."

Queen Christina collected 300 fine medallions; the French collection had formerly 1200; and Dr. Hunter's collection about 100. The British Museum now contains many very fine specimens. The *medaglioncini* of the Italian numismatists are the medallets of the English. Roman medallions were sometimes *mounted* in elegant borders by the ancients themselves, at the period of striking the medal; but many ancient gold pieces have been thus mounted as ornaments in the middle ages, of which custom a magnificent necklace in the Bibliotheque Nationale is a fine example; while some ancient silver medallions have been originally *gilt*, and traces of gold remain.

COINS OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS FROM PERTINAX TO THE END OF THE EMPIRE.

Pertinax was elected by the Senate in the year 193 A.D., and accepted by the Prætorean guard, who now began to assume the right of disposing of the empire. The reign of Pertinax was but short—he was assassinated at the end of three months, and yet his coins are far from uncommon, and some of them are fine; but not of unusual character; excepting, perhaps, some of his gold, engraved evidently by the same artist as the highly-finished head of Aurelius, No. 1, Plate 9.

It was after the death of Pertinax that the first glaringly suicidal act of the Roman empire took place. The office of emperor was put up for public sale by the

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 9.

COINS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, FROM THE ANTONINES TO TRAJANUS DECIUS.

No. 1.—An aureus (see pages 141 and 192) of Marcus Aurelius, who reigned from 161 to 180 A.D., of very perfect workmanship. The inscription is "AVRELIVS. CAESAR. AVG(ustus) PII FILIVS." (Aurelius Cæsar Augustus, the son of Pius), he was the adopted son of Antoninus Pius. On the reverse is the portrait of his wife Faustina, with the inscription "DIVA FAVSTINA" (the Divine Faustina, or the Goddess Faustina), for at this period both emperors and empresses were deified while living, while in the earlier periods of the empire deification only took place after death (see pages 167 and 168.)

No. 2.—The reverse of an aureus of Aurelius of another type, a youth holding a horse, perhaps in allusion to the emperor's triumphs in some of the equestrian games. Above the figure is the inscription "TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) III. IMP(erator) II. CO(n)S(ul) P(ater) P(atriæ)," which may be translated as "*holding* the Tribunitian Power for the third time, Consul, *and* Father of the Country."

No. 3.—The reverse of a fine copper medallion of Marcus Aurelius (see page 168). It is a variation of the *decursio* type (see Plate 8, No. 2), and represents the emperor going forth on a military expedition, expressed by the standard-bearers that precede and follow him. The inscription is "PROFECTIO AVG(usti)" (the going forth of Augustus). Or it may possibly represent Aurelius accompanied by his associated Emperor, Lucius Verus; in which case the inscription would read "PROFECTIO AVG(*ustorum*)" (the going forth of the Augustus's) (see page 168). Beneath is COS. III. (Consul for the third time) (see page 198).

No. 4.—A medallion of Lucius Verus, with a finely executed portrait. The inscription contains the names and titles abbreviated in the usual manner (see page 169).

No. 5.—An aureus (page 192) of Commodus, who began to reign in the year 180 A.D. It is one of the gold pieces distributed at periodical "*liberalities*" (see page 170). The emperor is seated on a raised platform, accompanied by an attendant, and in front is a symbolic figure of plenty, holding a horn of plenty in one hand, and a bunch of wheat-ears in the other. A figure on the steps of the platform represents the people receiving the "liberality." In the exergue, is the inscription "LIBERAL(itas) V." (the fifth Liberality), denoting the fifth public distribution of money by Commodus; above is the inscription "TR.(ibunitia) P.(otestate) VII. IMP.(erator) IIII. COS. III. P.(ater) P.(atriæ)" (see page 98); (Tribunitian power seventh time, Imperator fourth time, Consul third time, Father of the Country) (see page 168).

Nos. 6 and 7.—The obverse and reverse of a medallion of Commodus, especially interesting as relating to Roman triumphs in Britain over the Picts and other barbarians of the north. The obverse, No. 6, has a fine bust in high relief of the emperor, accompanied by the inscription "M.(arcus) COMMODVS. ANTONINVS. AVG(ustus) PIVS BRITTANICVS." He assumed the name of Antoninus Pius on his accession to the throne, and the surname of Brittanicus after his conquests in Britain. On the reverse is a figure which was formerly considered to be Britannia; but it is now more generally considered to be Rome, seated on a rock, which symbolizes the island of Britain, as held in more secure possession. The inscription is "BRITTANIA. P.(ontifex) M.(aximus) TR.(ibunitia) P.(otestate) X. IMP.(erator) VII. COS. IIII. P(ater) P(atriæ)" (Britannia, *alluding to freshly subdued districts in that island*, High Pontiff, *holding* the Tribunitian Power for the tenth time, Imperator for the seventh time, Consul for the third time, and Father of the Country) (see pages 197, 198, 168, and 169).

No. 8.—A double sestertius of Trajanus Decius, who died about 251 A.D., (see page 189). The portrait exhibits the hard sharp style of art exhibited on the Roman coinage about that period (see page 172). The inscription is "IMP(erator) C. M. Q. TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG(ustus)." The C. M. Q. are the initials of his *prenames*.

Nos. 9 and 10.—The obverse and reverse of a gold coin of Gallienus, who died about 260 A.D., probably a double aureus. On the obverse the inscription is simply "IMP(erator) GALLIENVS AVG(ustus);" on the reverse, round a figure of Hercules, is "VIRTVS. AVG(usti)" (the virtue of Augustus) (see page 173).

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Prætorean guard, and purchased by Didius Julianus, who, though he terminated a disgraceful reign of only sixty days by a disgraceful death, has yet, not only left coins bearing his own portrait, but also coins struck in honour of his wife and daughter. Pescennius Niger, who assumed the title of emperor, in Asia, has also left coins; as well as Albinus, commanding the Roman army in Britain, who at the same time declared himself emperor. The conqueror of Pescennius, Septimus Severus, temporizing with Albinus for a time, even struck money with his portrait; but as soon as he found himself strong enough, attacked him. As at Pharsalia, two Roman armies, each commanded by Romans, met to decide the fate of the empire. Albinus advanced into Gaul, as far as Lyons, to meet his enemy, but being defeated, fled to that city, where he put an end to his life.

Septimus Severus was declared emperor by the Senate in the year 197 A. D., and after a stirring and prosperous reign, died at the city of York, in Britain, after a reign of eighteen years, in the year 212. Roman art still continues fine on the ordinary coins and on the medallions of Septimus Severus. On one fine medallion both the head and Roman armour are very finely executed; the inscription is L.(ucius) SEPTIMIVS. SEVERVS PERTINAX AVG.(ustus) IMPerator IIII. "Lucius Septimus Severus Pertinax Augustus, Imperator for the fourth time." The name of Pertinax being adopted in token of esteem for the virtues of that prince, and to show his intention of avenging his death; it does not occur on late coins of the reign. The reverse has two beautiful figures of Hercules and Bacchus, in commemoration, no doubt, of the temple which he dedicated to them. The inscription is "devotion to the protecting gods." There are coins also with the portrait of his wife, Julia Domna, whom he had married after the death of Marcia, because the astrologers consulting at her birth, had declared that she should become the wife of a king. The coins of her unfortunate son Geta, who, conjointly with his brother, ascended the imperial throne in the year 211 A. D., are rare, in consequence of their suppression by the fratricide, Caracalla, who, assuming the sounding titles of "Sarmaticus," "Parthicus," "Britannicus," &c. &c., for insignificant advantages gained over those people, was also by the sarcastic and voluble people of Alexandria, favoured with the additional one of *Geticus*, in allusion to his triumph, by assassination, over his brother Geta. But this irony was revenged by a fearful and treacherous massacre, of which there is scarcely a parallel on record.

On a coin of Stratonicæa (and, therefore, belonging more properly to the imperial Greek division) the erased head of the murdered Geta is found. The coin alluded to has the bust of Caracalla laureated, to the right, and that of Geta to the left, *erased* in the die, but still traceable. The coin is countermarked ΘΕΟΥ. The assumption of the names of celebrated emperors by their successors has, in some cases, led to error; and in the Pictorial History of England a coin of Caracalla is engraved for one of *Antoninus*, whose name he assumed. The coins of Caracalla are numerous, and on those struck during his father's life, when he and his brother were associated in the empire, his portrait has a very pleasing expression; but in the later coins, the fearful crimes of his career seem stereotyped in his face. He was assassinated by Macrinus, after a reign of six years. There are coins also of his wife, Plautilla, who was eventually, with her only daughter, murdered, by order of her husband.

Such surnames as Caracalla, Caligula, &c. are frequently omitted on coins, as I have remarked in the case of those of Caligula; but names of the kind were nevertheless accepted, and even became family names. Cicero, for instance, from *cicer*, a wort or excrescence, which is not omitted on the nose of his busts and statues that have come down to us. Some of the names of the chiefs of the social war afford similar examples; and nearer home some of the Scottish names are derived from similar peculiarities, such as Campbell, from the Gaelic *Cambheul*—wry-nose; and Cameron, from *Camschronad*—wry-mouth. In Italy the custom still prevails, and I knew a lazzarone, called Locchiato (that is, l'occhiato), the squinter, whose eyes, and whose father's eyes, were perfectly regular—the family surname being founded on the occular obliquity of a remote ancestor.

I must here pass rapidly over the reigns of Macrinus, the murderer of Caracalla; of Diadumenius, his son; of the infamous Elagabalus;* his cousin, Alexander Severus; Maximinus, and his son Maximus; Gordianus Africanus, father and son; Balbinus and Pupienus; also Gordianus Pius;† Philip I. (upon whose coins the millenniary of the foundation of the city is celebrated); Philip II., his son; Pacatianus Iotapianus; and Trajanus Decius—occupying collectively the period between 217 and 251. A. D. Of all these emperors, however ephemeral their power, there are coins, though some of them are rare, as also numerous coins of their wives and other members of their families, especially of the whole family of Elagabalus, and his cousin Alexander. Through this series a gradually declining style of art may be observed—but not regular, for the coins of some, which were probably struck in remote provinces are very rude, while the money of subsequent princes, possibly struck in the capital, appears comparatively excellent, such as some pieces of Gordianus Africanus, and Trajanus Decius, especially some of his wife Etruscilla, and a medallion, which has for reverse a temple of Vesta, with a group of women sacrificing. A peculiarity of costume may be mentioned respecting the coins of this group, which is, that the spiked, or radiated crown, first appears permanently on some of the coins of this period, those of Iotapianus being about the first. The coin of Trajanus Decius (No. 8, Plate 9) will convey a fair idea of the general style of art on the coins of Rome about that and a subsequent period—the closely-cropped hair is represented by sharp indents in the die; the style of the hard but sharply-executed features will be found repeated on the coins of Probus, Carausius, and many others, from about the time of Elagabalus to the time of Constantine, when a new feeling of art arose.

The coins of Erennius and the sons of Decius, Hostilianus and Trebonianus Gallus, and his son Volusianus; Æmilianus Valerianus (conquered and put to death by the Persian Sapor), and his son Gallienus; who occupy collectively the period between 251 and 261 A. D., exhibit a still further debasement of style, which is more rapidly perceptible than in the former period; and yet this suit of coins begin at this period to be more interesting than ever, for history is confused, incomplete,

* There is a fine medallion of this infamous prince, bearing round his own portrait the name and titles of M. Aurelius, and on the reverse the famous conical stone worshipped in Syria, from which he took his name, Elagabalus. It is in a car guarded by an eagle.

† Of this prince there is a fine medallion, showing a portion of a rich shield beneath the profile, and on the reverse an amphitheatre, in which is seen a combat between a bull and an elephant, with the legend, "Munificentia Gordiani Augusti."

and sometimes altogether silent about this agitated period; names of emperors occurring on coins which no historian has mentioned ; so that some of these coins are the only records of men who have influenced, for good or evil, the destinies of the world. Statues or busts were but rarely executed in the turmoil of the declining empire, and the ephemeral tyrannies of these (with few exceptions) military despots would have remained unrecorded but for their coins. The tragic history of Valerianus, in his expedition against Sapor, King of Persia, is too well known to need description, suffice it to say, that the army beaten, and the emperor of the civilized world taken prisoner to die a miserable death in disgraceful captivity, was the first vital injury received by the Roman empire, though already wounded and mutilated in her spreading extremities.

Gallienus, the son of the unfortunate Valerianus, to whom the defence of Northern Europe had been entrusted, when the hardy tribes of Hungary and Germany were beginning to break into the Roman frontiers, was too happy to succeed to the entire power of the empire to think of ransoming his father. The rapid declension of Roman power from this epoch is strikingly exhibited in the coinage; the *first bronze* disappears after Gallienus, and that noble series of bronze medals, so characteristic of the Roman career, the majestic Æs of the republic, and the superb sestertius, of the early Cæsars, found their last faint representatives in the first bronze of Gallienus; of whom, a large medallion of flat and poor workmanship will be found in the plate relating to imperial Greek coins (Plate 8, No. 7). There is a gold coin of Gallienus, of which I have given an impression at Plate 9, Nos. 9 and 10, apparently a double aureus, which exhibits a style of work and design frequent at this period, and which forms a link between the sinking Roman style and the Byzantine style, which finally prevailed about the time of Constantine. It exhibits the emperor in a Greek helmet, and bearing a shield and spear ; the former, in medallions of the period, is sometimes very richly ornamented. The reverse of this coin has a figure of Hercules, and the motto VIRTVS . AVG(usti), "The virtue of Augustus." On some of his coins the reverse, afterwards common, begins to appear, of three figures, with horns of abundance, holding scales over heaps of metal, personifying the offices for the coining of gold, silver, and copper money, occupied by the triumviri monetales. The motto on such coins is generally "Moneta Aug(usti)."

On the period of "the thirty tyrants," mentioned by the historian Trebellius, there is no occasion here to dwell; only eighteen of them are known even by medals. It is well known that during the reign of Gallienus different commanders established themselves independently in various parts of the empire, but their coins are, with few exceptions, of rude execution, and no first bronze of any of them occurs; except some of the smaller *medallions* may be so considered. There is a fine one of Gordianus Pius, showing a richly-wrought shield beneath the profile, and on the reverse a curious view of an amphitheatre, apparently the Colosseum, showing a combat between a bull and an elephant. Of this period, and indeed of others also, there are coins of emperors who perhaps only reigned three days, or perhaps were only in expectation of reigning ; for we are informed by ancient historians, that pretenders to the purple frequently coined money in preparation, which was profusely scattered among the crowd when the aspirant for the first time, openly

avowed his intentions, which, if unsuccessful, nevertheless had the curious effect of conveying to posterity the coins of an emperor who never reigned.

There are medallions of rather remarkable workmanship of Postumus and Victorinus, who rank with the thirty cotemporary tyrants. The coins of Postumus, second bronze, being remarkable as exhibiting on different reverses a complete series of the labours of Hercules.

At this period, the contests of eighteen, or perhaps as some state thirty, pretenders to the purple; each backed by opposing armies, must have proved more deadly to the stability of the empire than the encroachments of foreign foes. It appears extraordinary that the Roman world did not crumble to pieces under trials like these, combined as they were with the continually increasing encroachments of the barbarians. But it still possessed innate principles of force and vitality not to be easily extinguished. Hadrian had, at a comparatively recent period, remodelled the whole constitution, giving it uniformity, and suiting old republican institutions to habits and circumstances connected with universal empire. The municipal organization was one of the greatest bulwarks, for by it Rome was repeated in each great city of the empire; its triumvirs replaced the consuls, and the decurions replaced the senate, whilst the perfection of the military organization was so great that an army could maintain itself for months, and even years, without communication with the capital. These principles of unity caused a natural disposition in the mass to agglomerate even after protracted separation; and the appearance, after Gallienus, of such men as Claudius Gothicus, Aurelian, Tacitus, and Probus, gave the empire once more its supreme limits, and caused the Roman name again to be one of awe to the barbarous nations with whom it had recently been made a byword and treated with scorn.

Claudius Gothicus, in barely three years, from 268 to 270 A. D., though he did not disturb the dominion of Tetricus, in Spain and Gaul, succeeded in driving out the barbarians from all the Roman provinces of Western Europe, and from his signal victories, over the Goths especially, he received his surname. After the ephemeral reign of ten days of Quintillius, the brother of Gothicus, Aurelianus was elected Augustus by the army of Pannonia, and recognised by the rest of the empire. After maturely weighing the critical situation of the state, and finding that the successes of Claudius Gothicus had nearly re-established order in the west, he determined upon immediately undertaking the difficult task of a similar reorganization in the east; where Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, whose husband Odenatus, after having prevented the Persian Sapor from subduing the whole of Romanized Asia, had subsequently, during the wretched reign of Gallienus, seized those vast territories, as well as Egypt. The result of the expedition of Aurelian is well known. The whole of the Roman provinces were reconquered, and even in some parts extended, and the captive queen graced the triumph of the conqueror on his return to Rome. This triumph was followed by the submission of Tetricus, who still held Spain and Gaul; and thus the Roman empire appeared once more a compact and well-governed world. The overgrown capital saw new walls arise round its circuit, enclosing the vast and far extending suburbs; and these walls of Aurelian, are those which the traveller sees at the present day, mutilated, it is true, both by destructions and additions, but yet the same walls, which modern Romans have so recently defended with success against the chosen troops of France.

In the reign of Aurelian, the celebrated revolt of the moneyers occurred. They had taken advantage of the troubles of the empire during the last fifty years, to coin base money; and finding that Aurelian was determined to reform this abuse, they, with their chief Felicissimus, took arms and assembled on the Mount Cœlius. There they resisted with such fury the troops sent against them, that seven thousand soldiers are said to have fallen before the rebels were subdued; so enthusiastically will men defend an *abuse*, even at the expense of life, while a *reform* that might be obtained, perhaps, with no sacrifice, finds few champions, and those but lukewarm in the cause. It may appear incredible that a number of workmen equal to such a defence should be employed at the mint; but when we reflect that nearly all the money with Latin legends was struck at Rome itself, and that the devices and portraits were renewed every year, and the dies of the same pattern continually replaced, as the Romans did not understand hardening steel ones as we do; and add to this, that they had not invented the screw-press, but struck up each piece by means of repeated blows with a hammer, it may then be easily conceived how great must have been the number of workmen, when it was not Rome, but the world that had to be supplied with its circulating medium, the bulk of which was copper. About this time, even in Greece and Asia Minor, very little money was coined, and soon afterwards none out of Rome. The gold and silver coinage had been confined to Rome with few exceptions, nearly from the commencement of the subjugation of each province; and continued so to be till the new imperial mint was established at Constantinople. The gold coins Aurelian are good examples of the peculiar, sharp style of the period, of the best character; on his coin he wears the now general radiated crown, and mail armour; and on the reverse he appears on horseback in the ancient Roman costume, both horse and rider being very superior in execution to the general art of the period. One of his coins has the inscription, "Deus et Dominus Noster Aurelianus Augustus," (Our Lord and God Aurelianus Augustus.)

Tacitus, Florianus, Probus, Carus, Carinus, Numerianus, Diocletianus, and Maximianus Herculeanus, Galerius, Valerianus Maximus, Constantius Chlorus, (the father of Constantini the Great) and Carausius and Allectus the independent emperors of Britain, with Maxentius, Severus, and Licinius, from another group of emperors, occupying the period between 275 to 324, A.D., whose coinages, space will not allow me to speak of separately. During this period, as is well known to the reader, many of the emperors named were rival cotemporaries, or colleagues, which accounts for the short period of time occupied by so many reigns.

Some of the coins of this period are, notwithstanding the debased state of the arts, of interesting character. The medallion of Probus armed with the rich shield and spear,* accompanied by his empress, with the three female figures relating to the coinage, on the reverse, is sharply executed, and appears to be copied from a coin of his predecessor Gordianus Pius (see page 173). There is a coin of Maximianus Herculeanus, the colleague of Diocletian, with a portrait of the emperor in the lion-skin head-dress, after the style of the coins of Alexander the Great; on the reverse of which the three monetarian divinities also appear between Jupiter and

* Of the comparatively prosperous reign of Probus the coins are extremely abundant, above 2500 varieties of reverses being known.

Hercules. As Maximian had taken the surname Herculeanus, so Diocletian had taken that of Jovianus, so that inscriptions on these coins run sometimes MONETA IOVI ET HERCVLI AVGG. The two G's expresses the plural, as "money of Jupiter and Hercules, Augustus's." There is a medallion of Diocletian on which the emperor appears as Jupiter on the reverse, accompanied by Maximian as Hercules, and above each a victory holding a wreath.

I cannot proceed to the next epoch without noticing more particularly the reign of Diocletian, which was a remarkable one; the arts though in a phase of decadence, still displayed in architecture many fine characteristics, of which the baths bearing this emperor's name at Rome, and the curious ruins of his vast palace at Spalatro, in Dalmatia, are striking examples. The idea he conceived of creating *subordinate emperors*, who should command the armies at different points of the vast frontiers of the empire, and yet owe allegiance to the supreme metropolitan sovereigns, was a great but dangerous idea, which his genius enabled him to carry out with good effect, thus foreshadowing and even realizing for a short period, one of the most striking and most vital of the features of the feudal system which eventually succeeded to the Roman forms of government. He has been unfairly judged by christian writers, in consequence of his impolitic and oppressive edict againt that rapidly rising sect. But a greater blow to the stability of the empire, was the effeminate luxury which he was the means of introducing by his own example. His love of personal display and the introduction of the trappings and attendant servilities of barbaric royalty, swept away the last remains of the republican simplicity, which up to this time were still preserved in most of the forms connected with the imperial office. The emperors before Diocletian wore no distinguishing marks of royalty but the robe of purple, and were approached with no greater mark of adulation than a respectful but ordinary salutation; while Diocletian appeared in gorgeous garments, covered with precious stones, after the manner of oriental despots, and exacted the debasing forms of adulation, adopted by barbaric royalty; but with Diocletian, this love of luxury was only personal, and the parsimony he displayed in the public games at Rome, which followed the pacification of the east, caused such discontent among the Roman population, that their ridicule caused him to leave the city; determining never to enter it again. Soon after, this remarkable prince resigned the purple, and retired to his native place, Salonica, near which, in his solitary palace at Spalatro, he passed his remaining years. When pressed to resume the imperial dignity he replied "would to God you could see the herbs which I cultivate with my own hands at Salonica, you then would not think of making me such a proposition."

The only known portraits of this prince, after a reign of thirty years, are those found on coins, no bust or statue being in existence. His silver coins are but slightly alloyed, and he caused the custom of issuing copper, plated to imitate silver, to be discontinued. It is thought by some that the three monetarian deities on the reverses of some of his coins allude to this reform; but as the same device occurs on the coins of Probus, and Florianus, this idea cannot be sustained; there is a peculiarity in the inscriptions, the abbreviation of Augustus AVG being written AVGG, to signify Augustorum, of the Augustus's, alluding to his colleague Maximian.

There are coins of the subordinate emperors of Diocletian, the inscriptions of which are peculiar; these subordinate princes were termed Cæsars. On the coins of

one of these Cæsars, Valerius Severus, the Cæsar is represented with a helmet, a recently introduced character about Roman monetary portraits, the title assumed is Severus Nobilis Caesar, (Severus Noble Cæsar); the reverse has "Virtus Augustorum et Caesarum Nostrorum," (the virtue of our Augustus's and Caesars); the two G's and two S's expressing the plural form of the abbreviated words, which are written AVGG and CAESS. Augustus being retained as the title of the colleague or equal of the emperor, and Cæsar adopted by the subordinate sovereigns. The only coins yet remaining of the period of Diocletian, that demand especial notice are those of Carausius and Allectus, the two independent Emperors of Britain, the last being subdued by Constantius Chlorus, Caesar of Gaul and Spain; and after this event, of Britain also. The gold coin on Plate 10 exhibits the sharp hard workmanship which becomes peculiar to Roman coins, soon after the period of Septimus Severus, but in this instance it is rendered striking by its exceedingly bold relief. Some have contended for giving the honour of the execution of this really fine coin to Britain, but as Carausius also possessed Boulogne, on the opposite coast, at a time when it was a celebrated Roman mint, it is most likely to that source that the present coin must be attributed. It is in a very distinct style from the Byzantine manner, so soon afterwards introduced by Constantine the Great, which is exhibited in the other coins on the same Plate; and which will be more especially alluded to hereafter. Carausius was assassinated by his prime minister Allectus, who succeeded him as Emperor of Britain, but who was subdued and slain in battle by Asclepiodotus, the præfect of Constantius Chlorus, in the year 297 A. D. Constantius *Chlorus*, who thus became Cæsar of the whole of this part of the empire, died in the year 306 A.D., and Constantine the Great, his son, succeeded in again consolidating the whole empire under one head, about the year 324 A. D.

There is a coin of Constantius Chlorus, apparently struck to commemorate a descent in Britain against Carausius, which he was eventually unable to effect, so that the coins were struck too soon, like those of Napoleon intended to commemorate a similar event, which bore the inscription "Descente en Angleterre, *frappé a Londre.*"

THE EPOCH OF CONSTANTINE.

As the art on the coins of Constantine the Great, marks a peculiar epoch, it becomes necessary to trace, in the origin and commencement of this reign, the causes of so great a change. Constantius Chlorus, Cæsar, or sub-emperor of Gaul, Spain and Britain, &c. &c., during the period that succeeded the abdication of Diocletian, procured the nomination of his son Constantine as one of the associate Cæsars. After the death of Constantius and others, Constantine found himself and Licinius the only remaining emperors; Constantine being in possession of the western provinces, as Licinius of the eastern. An agreement to acknowledge each other's power was cemented by the marriage of Licinius with Constantia, the sister of Constantine, which was solemnized at Milan, a city adopted about this time as the seat of government in Italy in preference to Rome, as being nearer the disturbed frontiers of Gaul and Germany. The alliance thus cemented lasted some years, but was succeeded by a war which terminated in the defeat and death of Licinius,

leaving Constantine sole emperor. The conversion to Christianity of this emperor, by which that faith became the religion of the Roman world, forms one of the great epochs in the Roman annals; and his adoption of Byzantium, as the capital, under the new name of Constantinople, removed the artistic centre of the empire to a position, where Greek art, though in a very degraded form, was still far from extinct or barbarous. The coinage of Constantinople was now executed by these Greek artists, and so, with Constantine, commences a new style of art in the fabrication of the money of the empire. The exceeding sharpness and still bold relief of the coins of some of the latter emperors, is exchanged for a low relief, accompanied by great neatness of execution, and considerable breadth of style, which has, however, none of the force and energy of the *breadth* of former periods, yet possesses a peculiar character of its own, in which a pleasing repose forms an agreeable quality not altogether separate from a certain grandeur. This was the commencement of that peculiar Byzantine style, which, in a more degraded form, influenced the arts of all Europe, through the dark ages that followed the crash of the western empire. The specimens on Plate 10, accompanied by a detailed description, will convey a good idea of this first Byzantine school of art, as applied to Roman money.

Constantine adopted the Christian religion in the year 312 A.D., and in 324, when he became sole emperor, made it that of the whole Roman world. Numismatists have sought records of this great event upon his coins, but none appear, and it is not till after his death, on the coins of his sons, that we find allusions to the Christian religion. Dr. Walsh was mistaken in endeavouring to prove an allusion to the baptism of the emperor on a coin of Constantine. Hardouin was the first to discover that the coin in question bore no reference to the baptism of Constantine; the inscription reads, B.(ono) R.(ei) P.(ublicæ) NAT.(o), but by mistaking the R for A, it has been made BAP(tismate) NAT.(o). But the former is proved to be the correct reading, as other coins have the same inscription without abbreviations. Constantine struck gold coins in honour of his mother Helena, the repudiated wife of his father Constantius, who, on receiving the rank of Cæsar from Maximianus, married Theodora, the daughter-in-law of that emperor. This is the Empress Helena whose name is conspicuous in the early history of the Christian religion as the founder of so many churches.

For the great victory over Maxentius by which Constantine ensured to himself the occupation of the imperial throne, he was indebted, say early ecclesiastical historians to a sacred standard, called *Labarum*, adopted in consequence of a vision which he had the previous day. On this standard appeared the monogram ☧, forming the initials or two first letters of ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ, and the first of ΙΕΣΩΣ, Christos Iesous, (Christ Jesus).* The standard with this monogram does not appear on the coins of Constantine himself; but on those of his son Constantius, and his successors in the East, it is found with several variations of treatment. Being adopted after the seat of empire was removed to Constantinople, accounts for its being in Greek characters.

The ordinary coins of Constantine are of very numerous types, and during his reign the inscription C O R N O B, first appeared, which is supposed to allude

* The same monogram is found on tombs in the Christian catacombs belonging to a period anterior to Constantine. See "Didron, iconagraphic de Dieu," Maitland's "Church of the Catacombs," and "Cruciana."

to the new imperial mint now established at Constantinople. Several readings have been proposed, but even the learned Eckhel, who gives all the readings, does not pretend to settle the question; one of the most plausible appears to be CO.(nstantinopoli) R.(omæ) N.(ovæ) O.(fficina) II, the B standing for *two*, which may be translated as, "Of Constantinople, New Rome, Office II,"—the word money, after the Greek manner, being understood. The meaning is, "Money of Constantinople, of the second department of the mint." Some have C O M O B, which may be CO.(nstantinopoli) M(oneta) O(fficina) II, the B, as before, standing for two; in this inscription also, the word money is understood, and in English it may stand as "Money of Constantinople, second class,"—or of the second department.

Many of the copper coins of Constantine have a Roman soldier on the reverse, holding a figure of victory in one hand, and a standard in the other, or a trophy, and placing one foot upon a prostrate figure, with an inscription, such as VICTVS EXERCITV ROMANORVM,—"Conquered by the army of the Romans;" or, beneath a sitting figure in an attitude of dejection, the name of a conquered or defeated nation appears, in one instance the Francs are the defeated nation, and their country is termed FRANCIA,—probably the earliest use of the word France; above, is, GAVDIVM ROMANORVM,—"The gladness of the Romans."

Visconti has engraved a large bronze medal or coin of Constantine, with a finely executed head in the peculiar flat Byzantine style; the reverse being a spirited battle on a bridge, with SALVS REIPVBLICAE, in commemoration of the bridge built by him over the Danube in the year 328 A. D. The art of this reverse appears quite above the general style of the period, but the equestrian statue in bronze, which now stands in front of the church of St. John Lateran, at Rome, sufficiently attests that there yet existed artists at Constantinople; though at Rome, he was compelled to pull down the triumphal arches of Trajan to build one for himself, and where his Christian churches were composed of the heterogeneous materials of Pagan temples, columns of different orders, and even different dimensions, being jumbled together in the same building.

One coin has an inscription alluding to the period when Constantine had associated his son Crispus in the government with the equal rank of Augustus, and appointed his son Constantius governor of Gaul, with the title of Cæsar only. The inscription on this coin is VICTORIA AVGG. CA,—"The victories of the two Augustus's and Cæsar;" the two G's representing two equal emperors, both bearing the title of Augustus; sometimes inscriptions allude to three, as AVGGG. Another change occurring about this time in the titles of the emperor is the assumption of, Lord, (Dominus), in the place of Emperor (Imperator); expressed by DN., as D.(omi) N.(us) CONSTANTINVS MAX.(imus) AVG.(ustus);—see the large gold coin on Plate 10, a triple aureus, a piece which generally ranks in collections as a medallion. The common aureus of Constantine is a neatly executed coin, with a portrait resembling that of Valens on the large gold coin in Plate 10. The reverse of a silver denarius of Constantine is shown on the same plate; of which the woodcut (page 180) shows the obverse. But there are many other varieties; the copper of Constantine is second and third bronze, corresponding about to our halfpence and farthings, though rather less and thinner. As the first bronze

disappeared after Gallienus, so the second bronze disappeared after the period of the family of Constantine.

On the coins of Constantius, the son of Constantine, who became sole emperor in 353, and reigned till the year 361 A. D., and on those of his immediate successors, christian emblems first begin to occupy a prominent place. On the reverse of a silver medallion of the Emperor Valens, in Plate 10, a full figure of the emperor holds in one hand the globe, while the other supports a banner, on which is seen the monogram of Christ ☧, described at page 178. The inscription is TRIVMFATOR. GENT(ium) BARB(ararum) (triumpher over the barbarians, or more literally, barbarous people). The intense interest of such an inscription, founded on successes assumed to be the consequence of a magic banner, or irresistible talisman, at a moment when every frontier of the empire was crowded with countless hordes of reckless savages, struggling to break down the already crumbling barriers of Rome, and pillage and destroy wherever riches and civilization existed, must be obvious. On a copper coin of the same plate, a figure, in a vessel, holds the banner of Christ in one hand, and the dove, or symbol of the Holy Ghost, surrounded by a *nimbus*, or glory, is placed on the other. On another copper coin in the same plate, the monogram, with the "Alpha and Omega," occupies the entire obverse, instead of the portrait of the emperor. The inscriptions round the monogram do not refer to it, but are SALVS AVG(ustorum) N(ostri) (the health of our Augustus's), or CONCORDIA MILITVM (the concord of the troops). But on the coins of the later eastern emperors we find "Jesus Christus Rex Regnantium" (Jesus Christ, King over princes), and "Jesus Christus Basileus Basileon" (Jesus Christ, King of Kings), &c. &c. Justinian styled himself the "Servant of Christ" (Servus Christi); and the custom was, through Constantinople, transmitted to modern Europe. We find the monogram of Christ on the coins of the Anglo-Saxon prince, Ethelwolf, the father of Alfred the Great; and on the coins of Charlemagne, the inscription "Christiano Religio," &c. &c. The large gold medallion of Constantius, on Plate 10, is a good example of the art of the period.

On the coins of Julian the Apostate, who succeeded Constantius, christian emblems of course disappear. His copper is nearly all third bronze; the head, and especially the hair, executed in a style similar to that of the denarius of Constantine, engraved above. The silver and gold are better executed than the copper. He was the last of the Flavian family (that of Constantine), and his inscriptions generally ran FL(avius) CL(audius) IVLIANVS P(ater) P(atriæ) AVG(ustus) He died in the year 363. He is generally represented bearded, on his coins.

OF CONTORNIATE MEDALLIONS.

As the age of the Antonines was characterized by the issue of the superb bronze medallions, of which specimens are given in Plate 9, so the age of Constantine and

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 10.

ROMAN COINS OF THE PERIOD OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, ETC.

No. 1.—A beautiful gold coin (an aureus) of Carausius, independent emperor of Britain, from 287 to 293 A.D., very finely executed for the period. It was purchased by the late Mr. Cracherode, at the great price of £150, and bequeathed by him to the British Museum. The inscription is simply CARAVSIVS P.(ius) F.(elix) AVG.(ustus).

No. 2.—The obverse of a silver medallion of the Emperor Valens, who began to reign about 380. The portrait is in the debased style of Byzantine art, which first appears about the time of Constantine the Great (see page 177). The inscription is in the late form in which the title Dominus was frequently used, instead of Imperator (see page 198); it stands "DN. (for Dominus) VALENS. P.(ater) P.(atriæ) AVG.(ustus)" (The Lord Valens, Father of the Country, Augustus). (see page 182).

No. 3.—The reverse of a silver medallion of Constantius, who began to reign 353 A.D., the son of Constantine the Great. The type is a full figure of the emperor holding the *labarum*, or banner, with the monogram ☧ formed of the Greek initials of the (see page 178) names ΚΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ (CHRISTUS IĒSOUS) (Christ Jesus), frequently found on the coins of the sons of Constantine, but not on his own. A crouching figure at the feet of the emperor expresses conquered nations, and the inscription is, "TRIVMFATOR GENT(ium) BARB(ararum)" (Triumpher, or conqueror, of the barbarous tribes or people), (see page 178). The letters in the exergue, TRPS, express the place of mintage, TR. (everis) P.(ecunia) S.(ignata) (money struck at Treves,) (see page 199).

No. 4.—The obverse of a gold coin of Constantine the Great, which appears to be a triple aureus, weighing 204 grains—the weight of the aureus in that reign varying from 66 to 68 grains. The inscription is, "D(omi) N.(us) CONSTANTINVS. MAX.(imus).AVG(ustus)."

No. 5.—The reverse of a denarius of Constantine the Great. A figure of Victory, in a galley, holds two garlands of laurel, probably on account of two naval victories. The inscription appears to be, "Libertas Publica," (the public liberty), (see pages 179 and 190).

Nos. 6 and 7.—The obverse and reverse of a fine gold medallion of Constantius, (see No. 3), the son of Constantine, which may be a five aureus piece, the weight of which, supposing the aureus to have fallen to the weight of 62 grains in that reign, should be 310 grains, while the present piece weighs 312. The inscription of the obverse is, "D. N. CONSTANTINVS. BA.(sileus) (the Greek title of king) &. AVG.(ustus) (The Lord Constantius, King, and Augustus). The reverse has the emperor seated on a throne or chair of state (page 203), holding a figure of Victory on a globe. The inscription is "GLORIA ROMANORVM" (The glory of the Romans), (see page 182). The letters under the figure may possibly imply, S.(ignata) M.(oneta) N.(obilis), describing these extra-sized pieces, which we term medallions, as *noble* money; or what Capitolinus, an historian of the Antonine epoch, terms Nummus Maximus (see pages 168 and 180).

No. 8.—Another of the interesting coins, with Christian emblems, of the Constantine period. It is a small copper, generally termed middle or second bronze. The Emperor in a galley, holds the sacred banner, with the initials of Christ (see No. 3), and on the other hand is placed a dove, surrounded by a nimbus, or glory. The galley appears to be steered by an angel, generally described as a victory. The inscription is, "FEL(icitas) TEM(porum) REPARATIO, (the restoration of the happiness of the times). The letters TRS express TReveris Signata, (struck at Treves).

No. 9.—A second bronze of the same period, on which the monogram formed of the initials of Christ is the principal type, accompanied by the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet, the Alpha and Omega, in allusion to the declaration of Christ, alluded to in the 22nd. chapter of Revelations:—"I am the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last." The inscription is, "SALVS DD. NN. (expressing the plural), AVG.(ustorum) ET CAESAR." (The welfare of the Lords, the Augustus's, and the Cæsar). Two of the sons of Constantine were at one time associated emperors, the third only Cæsar (see pages 177 and 178). The letters in the exergue AN.B express Antioch of the second mint; B, being the Greek numeral II. (see page 108).

BY BARCLAY'S PROCESS, 26. GERRARD STREET LONDON.

the Flavian family, was marked by the appearance of a new class of medallions, termed contorniate, or encircled medallions, from a more conspicuous border than had previously been used, which was sometimes formed of another metal. These medals, though they appear to have been prizes executed for distribution at periodical games, were yet made of corresponding weight with the ordinary coinage, perhaps with the intention of serving the purpose of money, if the gainer of the prize thought proper so to use it. That they have passed as money is proved by several of them being countermarked. These pieces are evidently of quite a distinct class to those of the Antonine period, as instead of bearing portraits of the cotemporary emperors, they have generally those of celebrated heroes, poets, or philosophers, of former periods. Many have a head of Alexander the Great, and even Nero; the latter, perhaps as great a patron of chariot-races and public games, finds an honourable place on these medallions. Some may have been prizes for chariot-races, while others, those with the heads of poets, may have been prizes for recitations, &c. &c. Homer, Cicero, and many other celebrated men, both Greek and Roman, are represented on these medals, and some Roman portraits are so found, which are unknown elsewhere. Visconti remarks, that of all the great men who have illustrated the great and brilliant career of Roman empire, not more than fifty (exclusive of emperors) are known to us through statues, busts, or coins; so that the few preserved by means of this series of medals, is a most acceptable acquisition, although the art is poor, and the likeness not to be fully depended on. Unknown names appear also on these medals, which some have fancifully attributed to gladiators, and other victors in the public games; or even to favourite horses, that had been victorious in the races of the circus. But later writers consider them rather the names of the engravers of the medals, just as we find them on the noble coins of Syracuse. On a medallion of this description, with the head of Nero, the name of Eutymius occurs, and on others, those of Solon, Stephanus, Philinus, &c. Jobert has some curious fancies respecting contorniate medallions, for which he is styled, by the authors of the article in the Encyclopadie, "ce pretendu Solon des medailles." These medals have frequently a laurel branch *inlaid* in the field of the coin in another metal. Such mixtures, particularly when a greater variety of material was used, were called *Toreutice*.* There is a curious monument of this description, forming part of a votive chariot, found near Perugia, made in part of silver, with ornaments of gold overlaid; but this fragment belongs to a far earlier period than the one we are treating of, the style being early Etruscan.

Some of the contorniate medals have a singular figure in front of a Zodiac, the meaning of which has not been well explained.

The portraits on these curious pieces were supposed by Spanheim, Ducange, and other early numismatists, to be cotemporary, but, if the late Byzantine style of art in which they are executed was insufficient to disprove such an hypothesis, there are other evidences, which to some will be more conclusive; for instance, the name of Homer is spelt with an Ω instead of an O, a custom only prevalent at the late period we are speaking of; and the name of Sallust, a Roman name, with which the engravers ought at all events to have been well acquainted, is spelt with one L, instead of two.

* Millingen.

On one of these medals with the head of Alexander the Great, a wretched copy of some earlier work, there is an interesting reverse, representing the interior of the circus during the public games—showing the general arrangement of the chariot races, with the obelisks at the extremities, very clearly defined, round which the race took place, and which formed perhaps, at the last round, the winning posts. There is an example of the last mentioned medal in the British Museum. These pieces are generally of about the size of the large coin of Constantius, on Plate 10, and not dissimilar in the style of art. The head of Terence appears on a unique contorniate medallion of about the fourth century—a fine head, with the inscription TERENTIVS. The reverse has a figure holding a horse, with only the letters IVS remaining of the inscription; it alludes to the games of the circus, in which the continuer of Visconti's great work supposes Terence may have been, in his youth, a victor in a horse-race; which is possible, as it is known that he received such large sums for his comedies as would enable him to indulge in sports of that kind. He received for "The Eunuch" 2000 denarii (about £72 of our money). But this interesting supposition must give way when we find similar devices on other contorniate medals, those with the portrait of Horace for example, and it would not be possible to make *all* the great characters, whose portraits are found on this series, sporting gentlemen, after the manner of Terence. Although on that with the portrait of Horace, there is also a man leading a horse, on the reverse, illustrative, no doubt, of the games at which these medals were distributed.

The head of Mecænas appears also on a medallion of this description; but it would seem that the Byzantine engraver intended to engrave a head of Solon, and finding the head of Mecænas on a gem inscribed with the name of the well-known gem engraver Solon, he mistook it for a portrait of Solon.

Apuleus, the orator of the Antonine age, is also honoured on a contorniate medallion.

A fine medal of similar period and character exists, as I have stated, of Sallust the historian. These medals were doubtless struck at Constantinople, and such names were selected for their types as were most likely to recall, in the east, the great Italic period of the empire. The inscription is SALVSTIVS. AVTOR (Salust, author). Some consider it on that account the name of an engraver, and not referring to the portrait. But Visconti says it was to recall the titles *florentissimus* and *certissimus auctor*, conferred upon him by succeeding writers. The reverse of most of these medals, even those with historians and poets, represents the games at which it is supposed the contorniate medals were distributed; like that of Alexander the Great above described.

This kind of medallic honour was conferred upon the poet Virgil till late in the middle ages. The coins of Italian cities, after the time of Charlemagne, had generally their patron saints on the reverses of their coins; but Mantua, the birthplace of the poet, had the name and portrait of Virgil.

COINS OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS FROM JOVIAN TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE.

During the reigns of Jovian, Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, extending from 363 to 383 A.D., the copper money has become insignificant; while the silver and gold

still retain some characters of the Constantine period; but at this epoch it is only in the larger pieces that any characteristics of art can be traced, for which purpose I have given an impression of a medallion of Valens. The word Roma is introduced again by late emperors, and sometimes Roma resurgus. In the reign of Theodosius the Great we naturally expect to fine a good coinage, at all events an attempt to improve the wretched state that the national copper had fallen into, but such is not the case—the little rude copper of the period being too contemptible to mention.

There are tolerably good gold however of Theodosius, of which the woodcut is a specimen. He died 395 A. D.

After this period even third bronze disappears. The empire was again divided, after the death of Theodosius, between his sons Arcadius and Honorius; Arcadius taking the east. Honorius, who reigned in the west till the year 423 A. D., has left no coins worthy of record in this place, and in his reign Rome itself fell beneath the arms of Alaric.

The empire of the west still struggled against the encroachments of the barbaric hordes, and in the last throes of its expiring power, the names of Valentinian III., Maximus, Avitus, Majorian, Ricimer (known also under the name of Severus), Athemius, Olybrius, Julius Nepos, Glycerius, and lastly Romulus Augustulus, occur as emperors, possessing more or less territory and power, according to the varying fortunes of the invasions and devastations of the period. At last, in 476 A.D., Odoacer, King of the Heruli, invited by the Romans themselves, assumed the title of King of Italy. There are a few gold and silver coins of these shadows of emperors, but not of sufficient importance to dwell upon, and I must therefore say a few words on the rude coins of the princes who succeeded them.

COINS OF THEODORIC AND THE GOTHIC PRINCES OF ITALY.

Theodoric reigned as King of Italy from 493 to 506 A. D. His minister and historian, Cassiodorus, mentions coins distributed at the *liberaties* or public distribution of coin, on which it would appear that public events were represented, as he makes Theodoric say "monetamque facis de nostris temporibus futura sæculæ communere," (with the assistance of coins you teach posterity the events of my reign). But no such coins of the period of Theodoric have come down to us, and they must have been confined to a few large medallions struck on such occasions, and it is only with such extra-sized money, or medallions, that the coinage of the later emperors can be illustrated. But of Theodoric, none of these medals have reached us, and his common copper money appears to have been confined to the small copper *assaria*, or *noumia*, of twenty and ten grains, having no portrait or device beyond a sort of monogram or short inscription.

The fine series of first bronze had disappeared with Gallienus. The second bronze appears no more after the era of the Flavian or Constantine family. Even the third bronze soon follows, and the small pieces above named formed the only copper coinage of the crumbling empire.* The accompanying woodcut is from a

small piece by some attributed to Theodoric, and by others to Theodosius, which will give a good idea of the general character of all the copper coins of the period.

The next step takes us to the positive link between the classic coinage of the Roman empire and the barbaric money of the kingdoms that rose upon its ruins; the form of the inscription and title being the same. The EADBERTH REX, of the early Anglo-Saxon king, was foreshadowed by those of the Gothic prince Witiges, who reigned about the year 534 A. D., of whose coins the annexed woodcut

is a specimen. Some of the princes of this period copied the head of Justinian, with its superscription, and placed it on the back of their coins ; or perhaps used the old dies, only engraving their own name and title for the obverse.† Theoda, a successor of the great Theodoric, having been assassinated, about the time that the army of Justinian, under the command of the celebrated Belesarius, endeavoured to recover Italy from the Goths, Witiges advanced against Rome, which had already surrendered to the imperial general; but he was vanquished, and sent prisoner to Constantinople. Thus Italy was added again, but for a short time, to that portion of the Roman empire which, in the east, which was destined long to survive its western parent, and to give back to Europe in a future age, the arts, manners, and laws, received from her, in the great days of Rome.

In conclusion of my subject, to show that the arts at Constantinople, at the period of the dissolution of the Roman empire were still in a flourishing condition, as compared with their debasement in the west, I have given an impression in Plate 10, of a gold coin of Anastasius, who succeeded Zeno as Emperor of the East, in the year 491, and married Ariadne, a daughter of Theodoric the Ostrogoth. It must have been struck between the years 491 and 518 A. D., the extent of his reign.

My sketch of the progress of the art of coinage of the ancient world, terminates

* The names and other varieties of copper, silver, and gold are treated separately in Chap XVIII.

† The scarcity of this wretched half-farthing coinage of the last emperors, and barbaric princes who succeeded them, may be inferred from the prices at which they sell. Coins of Helderic, silver, are worth 10s.; small copper of Athanaric, 5s.; small copper of Theodahat, 5s.; small copper of Badueta, 10s.; smallest copper of each of these, 3s.

as far as the historical portion is concerned, with the dissolution of the western empire; for the rise of the modern kingdoms forms the base of a new structure of civilization, the very principles of which are in many important features quite distinct, and of a new order. I state thus much, superfluous as it may seem, as some have thought the period of Charlemagne a better period for separating ancient and modern history. But the mere incident of his coronation at Rome as Emperor of the West, cannot place him in the position of a Roman Emperor, while the whole system of civilization of his period, forms an important link in the development of modern history, to which Charlemagne and his period essentially belong.

The series of the imperial coins of Rome, extending from 48 B.C. to the fall of the western empire, 476 A.D., occupies a lapse of 524 years; but if continued into modern history to the final destruction of the eastern empire by the fall of Constantinople, captured by Mahomet II., in 1453, this series of coins will be found to extend over a period of 1500 years. But the coins of the eastern empire, after the fall of Roman power in the west, belong more strictly to modern history, which is the reason that I have made the Roman series terminate with the fall of Rome.

CHAPTER XX.

OF THE METALS, WEIGHTS, VALUES, DENOMINATIONS, TYPES, AND INSCRIPTIONS OF ROMAN COINS.—COPPER.

I HAVE alluded to some of the subjects enumerated at the head of this chapter in my article on the first Roman copper money; it remains, therefore, in this place, only to sum up, in few words, the principal points connected with the adoption of copper as the standard of the Roman coinage. It appears from many detached passages of ancient authors, that the early people of Italy (the Romans among the number) had, like other races in a primitive or barbarous state, used pieces of wood, leather, or shells, as a sort of money. We find the next step to be* the adoption of pieces of metal, passed by *weight;* and with the Romans this metal appears to have been *copper;*† which must have been abundant in Italy and Sicily, as its export from those countries is even mentioned by Homer, while copper mines exist at the present day in the neighbourhood of Mount Ætna, which till very recently were still worked. Some confusion exists with respect to the Roman copper coinage, in regard to values, sizes, weights, &c. &c., in consequence of the undefined terms, *brass*, *copper*, and *bronze*. What the ancients called orichalcum, was similar to the mixed metal now termed bronze. Æs, the term from which the name of the first Roman coin was derived, the As, was the name of the mixed metal of which these coins were formed. The modern Italian terms, *ottone*, *rame*, the French *airain*, and the English *brass*, long used to express this metal, are all incorrect, brass being composed of copper and zinc; while there is no zinc in the ancient Æs, which is principally formed of copper and *tin*. Bronze is now the term generally given by artists to this metal, and brass, therefore, becomes incorrect, as applied to it. As regards Roman coins, Dr. W. Smith recommends the term *bronze*, instead of brass, in order to prevent confusion. The ancients were acquainted with several distinct mixtures or bronzes; there were the Æs Corinthiacum, the Æs Deliacum, the Æs Æginiticum, the Æs Hepotizon, and many others. Most of these were considered by the ancients, as appears from Procopius, much more valuable than the red or Cyprian copper (Æs Cyprium), for he says, speaking of a statue of Justinian, that "*bronze*,‡ inferior in colour to gold, is almost equal in value to silver." But this is strangely at variance with the fact, that four sestertii, which are nearly always of the yellow copper or bronze, being commonly termed "first brass," weighing each one ounce and a-half, were only equal to a silver denarius weighing fifty-eight grains. It is, however, maintained by modern authorities upon the subject, that yellow Roman

* See Chapter XI.

† Not as among the Greeks, silver.

‡ It is still the custom of many numismatists to term this metal brass, and to term the sestertius first brass, &c. &c., but recent investigations appear to show that the term bronze is more appropriate.

copper (which was a natural product), being a rare and singular combination of *copper* with *Lapis calaminaris*, was of twice the value of the red copper; and hence they infer that the yellow and red copper coinages were kept "as separate as those of gold and silver;" and it is stated that *bronze* pieces of the same size, such as the assarius, or third copper, for instance, which was generally coined in red copper, are—if in yellow copper, or brass as it is commonly termed—not *assaria* but *dupondie*,* in other words of double the value. It is stated, also, that they are of finer workmanship than the red copper assarius. Thus it would appear that the sertertius, or quarter denarius, the half sestertius or dupondius, and the assarius, or As, (the first, second, and third bronze), must receive their names, not by their size, but by their metal. The imperial *As*, or assarius, is said to be invariably made of red copper till Gallienus, after which it is made of bronze (*brass*), weighing only one-eighth of an ounce.

With the intention of clearing up this point to my own satisfaction, I have examined several very large collections, but the result has been to leave me in doubt as before. It is a point that requires much nice investigation before it can be permanently settled. To return to the early republican coinage; after the use of pieces of copper money, passing by weight, the next step of the Romans appears to have been the adoption of the libra, or pound, as the standard weight of their copper pieces; which pound appears, according to Mr. Hussey, to have corresponded to about eleven ounces and three-quarters avoirdupois.† Pieces of copper adjusted to this weight were called an ÆS or AS, a term afterwards used either to express the coin, a *pound weight*, or the material, *copper* or *bronze*. It appears also that a *foot measure* received the same name, holding the same standard relation to other measures, as the pound did to other weights. The first pieces were no doubt square, and without impress. It is recorded that Servius Tullius first added the impress of an ox (see woodcut, page 129), sheep, or swine.‡ These square pieces were in use, but still passing most probably by weight, till after the conquest of the Greek cities of the south of Italy, when the Romans copied their coinage, giving to their own unwieldy copper ingots the circular form of Greek coins, and stamping them with a government stamp to give them a guaranteed value and weight. The As was then divided into the following parts:—

The As, distinguished by the head of Janus on the obverse; and on the reverse by the prow of a ship, had the mark L or I, for one pound (see woodcut, page 130).

The Semis (half the As), with the head of Jupiter, and the mark S, was six ounces.

The Triens (one-third of the As), with the head of Minerva, and four globules, to mark the ounces, was four ounces.

The Quadrans (one-fourth of the As), with the head of Hercules, and three globules, weighed three ounces.

* See page 189.

† It seems probable that both the name and the weight of the uncial coinage, may have been derived from Sicily. The Roman libra, and the Sicilian litra, having many points of analogy; and there are early copper pieces of Syracuse, bearing a head of Minerva, that have a strong resemblance to this class of money, on which the Sicilians, as well as the Romans, used dots to mark the weight; and their names, trixas, dixas, &c., further support the analogy; the trixas of Sicily corresponding to the teruncius of the Romans.

‡ See page 128.

The Sextans (one-sixth of the As), with the head of Mercury, and two globules, weighed two ounces.

The Uncia (one-twelfth), with the head of Minerva or Rome, and one globule, weighed one ounce.

There was also the Semuncia, or half-ounce.

All these pieces have the national device, of the prow of a ship, for reverse. Some of the obverses have the marks of quantity as well as the reverses, but not always, the club, sometimes occupying their place beneath the head of Hercules on the quadrans. When the As was reduced in weight, pieces were struck called dassis, or dupondis, tressis, quadrussis, and decussis, two, three, four, and ten As's; and even up to centusses, pieces of one hundred As's (see the decussis at page 133). There was also the deunx, eleven ounces; dodrans, nine ounces; septunx, seven ounces; and quincunx, five ounces.

The As appears to have gradually decreased from its original weight of one pound, at about the following periods:*—About 300 B.C. it weighed under ten ounces; about 290, eight ounces; about 280, six ounces; about 270, four ounces; about 260, two ounces; and about 175 it was reduced by the Papyrian law to half an ounce, when it was sometimes termed a *libella*. These dates are not all fully to be depended on; but coins exist in great numbers of the As and its parts of all intermediate weights between the highest and the lowest, except those of the full pound; the heaviest of the circular pieces being about nine and a half ounces; the heavier pieces having been, most probably, of the square or ingot form. (See page 128).

The Greek cities of Magna-Grecia and Sicily, after their subjection to the Romans, appear to have adopted the As and its parts as the standard of a copper coinage, while they still used their own national types on some of these pieces; but soon after the accession of Octavius all these remains of the smaller national coinages of Italy and Sicily disappeared, and the money of the great capital became the sole circulating medium. The As, though it still continued to be coined during the reign of Augustus, and was occasionally used as a medium of calculation long afterwards, was yet virtually superseded by the issue of the sestertius about that time.

THE SESTERTIUS, OR FIRST BRONZE.

Sestertius is a term originally belonging to the Roman silver coinage, and was a *quarter* of the denarius; but the silver coin being inconveniently small, no doubt suggested the idea of coining it in copper. In this metal, as in silver, it represented two and a half As's, as its name imports, being an abbreviation of *semis tertius*, that is, *two* and half the third, the word two being understood. It is in writing expressed by the symbol II. S., or HS., which represents two and a half, II. in Roman numerals, and S for *semis* (half); sometimes it is found as LLS, which is *libra libra* semis (two *pounds* and a half). Pondus was a hundred weight; sestertium pondus, two hundred weight and a half; the pound weight, as I have stated, being the original weight of the As, of which this piece represents two and a half. But when the denarius was declared worth sixteen As's, instead of ten, then the sestertius became, in *fact*, worth *four* As's, but this did not affect its relative value

* Ascertained, by comparison of the records of Pliny and other authors, with the apparent date of the coins themselves, from workmanship, &c. &c.

to the As of copper. After the general acceptance of the sestertius as the standard copper coin, and consequently the standard national coin, as the Roman currency was founded upon a copper standard, the Romans made all their calculations in *sestertii;* and not, as might be supposed, in the principal silver coin, the denarius. The term sestertium, in the neuter, expresses 1000 sestertii; and in several thousands the plural of the neuter is used, as *sescenta sestertia*, for 600,000, instead of sescenta milia sestertii. But there are many intricacies in the mode of expressing sums of money in sestertii, too numerous to allude to in this place.

SECOND AND THIRD BRONZE.

The second and third bronze as they are termed, are rather parts of the As than of the sestertius; but this is a point to which archæologists have not given much attention. It appears to stand thus:—The sestertius reckoned as a quarter denarius, eventually became worth four *As's;* the second bronze, which was called the *dupondius*, or double As, was really founded upon the true existing value of two As's of copper, and was therefore, though in fact calculated upon a different standard, exactly half the sestertius.

The third brass was called the *Assarius*, an ancient name of the As.* The assarius was, therefore, half the dupondius, so that the second and third bronze were the half and the quarter of the sestertius. Even during the reigns of the early emperors a minute copper coinage existed, the pieces of which are by some termed *minimi*, but they were, doubtless, *unciæ*. The As, was coined during the reigns of Nero and Domitian, at the reduced weight of half an ounce, consequently these small coins could only be the twenty-fourth part of an ounce, or twenty grains, the weight of the assaria, or As itself, at the close of the empire.

The sestertius sustained no material decrease in weight till S. Severus, when it was coined one-third lighter. It was still further reduced in the time of Trajanus Decius, who coined double sestertii, or quinarii, (see Plate 9, No. 8). But from the time of Trebonius Gallus to Gallienus, when the first bronze, or sestertius, in its original form ceases, it does not weigh above one-third of an ounce.

After Diocletian, the second bronze is no longer coined; and the third diminishes to the twentieth part of an ounce, only twenty-four grains. But this emperor, having restored the purity of the silver coinage of denarii, established a new copper coin, the *follis*, of somewhat more than half an ounce in weight. Constantine reformed this coinage, making the *follis* of half an ounce exactly, and twenty-four of them went to his silver coin called the *milliærensis*. The word *follis* signifies also a *purse*, in which sense we find it sometimes mentioned in Byzantine history. Diocletian's follis, from his time till shortly after Constantine, occupied the place of the departed second brass, but then disappeared in its turn. After Julian, the last of the family of Constantine, even the third bronze is no longer found, and the follis of Diocletian becomes merged in other small coins. The small copper coin of the last emperors was the assaria or lepton, a small piece of twenty grains, by some thought to be the uncia, or minimus, of the early emperors; but which is, in fact, the extreme point of reduction of the As. It forms the principal copper currency after Julian, and

* In Greek called *Assarion*. At the time of its introduction, the Roman assarius was worth half a Greek obolus.

there was also the *noumia*,* of only ten grains. The sestertius had long disappeared, and little or no silver or gold was coined in the western portion of the empire at this period; so that the As, the first grand coin of the Herculean infancy of the great Republic, was in the degenerate forms of the lepton and noumia, the last money of the expiring empire of Rome.

SILVER—THE DENARIUS.

The first silver bearing Roman types were in fact Greek drachmæ, the fine coin with the quadriga, Plate 6, No. 3, is a tridrachm. But these pieces, coined with Roman types, by the newly subjected Greek states in the south of Italy, eventually disappeared before the national denarius. It was not till the conquest of Tarentum about 281 B. C., that the Romans acquired sufficient wealth of silver to adopt an extensive silver coinage. Soon after that time the As was reduced to such a scale of weight and values as rendered its parts not very dissimilar to the copper money used as small change for silver among the Greek states of southern Italy. This change in the copper coinage, and the adoption of silver, appears to have been effected in the following manner:—The vast influx of silver caused an apparent rise in the value of produce, that is to say, a portion of wheat for instance, which could previously be obtained for a piece of copper, could now only be obtained for one of silver, so that a money of copper of such large dimensions became useless, and a national coinage of silver was consequently introduced (see page 136).

The denarius was first coined by the Romans of the value of ten As's; from which it received its name (which means *ten bronzes.*)† It completed the plan of a decimal coinage, which appears to have been suggested by the division of the As of Capua into ten parts instead of twelve. As the As decreased in weight while the denarius continued to retain more nearly its original dimensions, sixteen Assaria or As's were, in the time of Augustus, ordered to go to the silver denarius. The denarius, like the victoriatus which had preceded it, and which was in fact a Greek drachma,‡ was also known as a *quadrigatus* from its car with four horses, or *quadriga;* and the quinarius or half As, as a *bigatus*, from the two-horse car. The denarius gradually decreased in weight; originally eighty-four were coined out of a pound of silver, and about Nero's time, 96. Its individual weight at the beginning of the empire was about sixty grains, and towards the middle of the imperial period, about fifty-eight grains, making it worth 8¼*d.* of our money at the first period, and 7½*d.* at the second. The parts of the denarius mentioned by historians are the following, though I have seen none but the quinarius or half.

	In our money. Pence.	Farthings.
Teruncius	...	... 53125
Sembella	...	... 1·0625
Libella	...	... 2·125
Sestertius	... 2	... 5
Quinarius	... 4	... 1
Denarius	... 8	... 2

During the reigns of the early emperors the weight of the denarius, originally

* But few of these small pieces are found (see page 184).

† The term denarius is from *Denaeris*, there is also the term *milleaeris* and *deciesaeris*, respectively 10,000 and 100,000 As's.

‡ See chapter on first Roman silver, page 138.

fifty-eight grains, had been gradually decreasing, and in the time of Caracalla it was struck of two sizes, the largest being called an *argenteus*, the smaller one a *minutus*, which last appears to have been the old denarius reduced.

About the time of Valerian and Gallienus, we find such coins mentioned as the denarii æris (copper denarii) ; of these there were two sizes, one being of the usual (nominal) value of sixteen assaria, or four sestertii ; the other being declared worth twenty-four assaria. Examples of these coins have been found, which exist in modern cabinets. They are classed with silver, as they bear the name of a silver coin, and are washed over with tin or silver, or made of a combination of base metals. Of base money of this description we have many modern examples—the ten-centime piece of Napoleon, for instance, being of copper washed with silver ; and at an earlier period, the shillings of our Henry VIII. which, issued by the mint at 12*d.*, were eventually called in at 4½*d.* Some of the base shillings issued by Edward VI. were three-fourths alloy, and were called in during the reign of Elizabeth at 2½*d.*, realizing a very good profit to the Crown, but by means that can scarcely be deemed respectable. The base shillings of Henry VIII. had a full face of the king, a very good likeness, but the end of the nose being the most prominent part of the coin, soon began to show the base metal ; and from this circumstance he received his well-known soubriquet, "copper nose."

Goertz, minister of Charles XII. of Sweden, made a trial of base money. He thought, like many finance ministers of his time, that a debasement of the currency was a panacea for financial distress ; but instead of paper, or adulterated silver, he endeavoured to give a higher, and fictitious value to copper ; and to these new copper coins, which were to pass for more than their intrinsic worth, he sought to give importance by naming them after classical divinities. There was the Jupiter, the Saturn, &c. &c.

Under Gallienus the argenteus took the place of the denarius, but the old name still lingered about the principal silver money. At a late period it was worth sixty of the small copper of the last emperors (assaria). Constantine introduced the *milliærensis*, which he caused to pass for twenty-four of the new brass coin of Diocletian, called the follis. The term *follis*, given to his new copper coin by Diocletian, was also applied to silver in the time of Constantine, and the follis, or purse of silver, then meant 250 *milliærenses*, just as the *sestertium* was 250 denarii, equal, as previously stated,* to 1000 sestertii. This mode of calculation, and the term (purse), is preserved even to the present day in Constantinople, and the Turkish states, where they still occasionally compute values by *purses*, in the mode established in the time of Constantine. Denarii, under various names, but of continually decreasing weight, were struck till the time of the eastern emperor, Heraclius, when they only weighed ten grains ; so that this silver coin, originating in the Republic at the weight of ninety grains, being in the reign of Augustus sixty, in the mid-empire fifty-eight, was eventually reduced to ten : shortly before that it became the parent of the Anglo-Saxon silver penny, which at its best time weighed twenty-four grains, and has preserved to this day the name of its parent, in the D., the initial letter of denarius, which distinguishes it in our £ *s.* *d.* The silver penny of France was called a *denier*, which allies it still more closely to the ancient denarius

* See page 189.

METALS.—GOLD—THE AUREUS.

The first gold coined in Rome, according to Pliny, was in the year 207 B.C. He must allude to the scrupular coinage (see page 140). This lasted but for a short time, and the coins themselves, of beautiful Greek art, are very rare. The aureus was the first truly national gold coin of the Romans; at first they were made at the rate of forty out of the pound weight of gold, about 130 grains to each piece (see page 141). The value of the aureus of the middle of the reign of Augustus was (its weight being then 120 grains) about £1 1*s.* 1*d.* of our money; but according to the relative values of gold and silver in Rome, were it passed for twenty-five denarii, it was only worth 17*s.* 8½*d.* of our money, the value of gold at that time being about twelve times greater than silver, while with us it has been fifteen times more valuable; but in the time of Edward VI. it was at one time only rated at five times the worth of silver.

Alexander Severus coined pieces of one-half and one-third of the aureus, called *semisses* and *tremisses*.

At the time of Constantine, the principal gold piece was called the solidus. These new aurei of Constantine were seventy-two to the pound weight of gold, at which standard they remained till the end of the empire; and in later times were known in Western Europe as *Bezants* (Byzantium's) as coming from Constantinople. No other European gold coin existing at that time except the gold *triens* of the Merovingean princes of Gaul; which coin is an imitation of the tremissis of Severus, or its representative in the lower empire, just as the last corrupted form of the denarius was imitated in the silver penny of the modern kingdoms.

TYPES OF THE ROMAN COINAGE.

In speaking of the types of the Greek coinage, I thought it necessary to give a short introduction to the subject, in the form of a few observations on their original religious character; I intend to pursue the same course in speaking of Roman types, of which the most striking feature is the *dual*, or twofold character of the principal emblems, especially that of Janus. This idea, or myth, appears to be founded on that of antagonist powers, producing the fruitfulness of all things, light and darkness, youth and age,—that is wisdom and vigour,—male and female, &c. This myth, which considers all germinating powers dual or double, is reproduced in a number of forms by the ancients; and sometimes doubled, as the four elements under the figure of the four-fronted Janus, or Quadrifons. The Penates, or household gods, were a dual or double myth, as were the dioscures, Castor and Pollux, the hero twins; who are accompanied by stars, generally placed above the heads,* to denote their celestial influence. The dioscuri are the most vigorous form of the dual myth, representing perhaps, youth and courage.

Castor and Pollux are the sons of Jupiter and Leda, and the birth of the twins in an egg is the reason of representing them in the peculiar cap which they always wear;† whether on Greek or Roman coins, they are nearly always accompanied by a star. Castor shared with Pollux the immortality conferred upon

* Sometimes they each wear a cap surmounted by a star, and sometimes they are symbolized by these caps alone.

† The cap is in the form of half an egg-shell.

him by Jupiter, so that they lived and died alternately. The term Dioscuri expresses "Sons of Jupiter." Occasionally their heads only are represented, as two profiles joined at the back, with a star over each; whether the double heads on the early Roman gold and silver is Janus young, or Castor and Pollux, or the youthful Jupiter worshipped at Anxur, is doubtful; but those heads are without the stars, which nearly always accompany Castor and Pollux, who were, according to the fable, transformed into stars, which occupy a place among the signs of the zodiac; nevertheless they sometimes appear on coins without the usual accompaniment of the two stars. Of the types founded upon the fable of the dioscuri, there are, as I have said, several; there is a reverse of the Postumian family, with three horsemen galloping over an enemy on foot, the caps of the dioscuri flying before them, signifying the irresistible charge of the Roman cavalry, associated with their aid.* When riding at full gallop with levelled spears, they are supposed to be in the act of charging in the battle near Lake Regillus; when represented on horses prancing in different directions, they are triumphing after the victory; † when watering their horses at the fountain near the Temple of Vesta, by moonlight, they illustrate another part of the elegant fable related by Dionysius of Halicarnissus,—this subject is found on an interesting early denarius of the family series, (see Plate 6, No. 9).

On the early Roman As we find a double head, composed of Janus and Jupiter joined. The As being the unit or perfect and simple form of the Roman measure of value, is represented by the *unity* in *duality* of this idea; whilst on the Semis, or half As, we have the head of Jupiter alone, as denoting an incomplete instead of a perfect unity, the double unity alone being complete. The myth of Romulus and Remus beneath the wolf is another form of this myth, which we find placed on the coins of other ancient nations; a variation of which is the head of the two-fronted Janus beneath the Ram. Matter and motion form an essential figure of duality, the Earth standing still would revert to Chaos. This is a form of duality we find personified by Janus, as the Earth and Mercury typify motion by the winged helmet or cap. We generally find these combinations accompanied by some emblem of germination, such as a plant shooting up, or a young branch budding into leaf, &c. The sacredness of these emblems is sometimes denoted by especial emblems of a divine power, such as a lance, which sometimes represents the Roman Mars (Quirinus); ‡ a two-headed axe, the axe being a well-known emblem of divinity in the early hieroglyphic writing of the Egyptians, where the idea of God was expressed by an axe. In the sacred writing of the Israelites we find a flaming or *two*-edged sword similarly expressing the idea of divine power. The myths of the Romans were nearly all imported, and modified to suit the peculiar nature of the country, and the genius of the people. || In the island of Tenedos two sacred axes were objects of worship, and on their coins we find the double-headed Janus or Jupiter, while on the reverse of the same coins a double-headed axe is found. The Roman *cult* of Mutunus, a name under which they worshipped the garden god, or god of fruitfulness, was derived from Lampsacus, the principal seat of this worship. But it is impossible in the space of this small volume to attempt the dissection of the pages, nay volumes, weary volumes, that laborious investigators have printed on the myths,

* See passage in Florus, "Assud Regilli lacum dimicatur *commilitonibus* deis."—Lib. I., Chap. 2.
† See woodcut at page 139. ‡ See Michelet. || See Michelet.

or religious doctrines, of ancient nations: suffice it to say, that even on the coins of some of the later emperors, this idea of duality is still found, as an emblem implying mysterious connexion, such as body and spirit, humanity and divinity, or some other combination. On a coin of the Emperor Commodus, for instance, is a head of this description, which M. Le Normand describes as Janus, but if so, it is evidently Janus in the features of the emperor, as we find Hercules represented in those of Alexander the Great, &c.; but it appears to me possible, that it may refer to the deification of the emperor, on one side the head being Jupiter, on the other, Commodus,—that is on one side Jupiter, on the other Imperator. As no person, except when deified, could be placed upon the public coin (*sacra moneta*), this would appear an ingenious manner of expressing the idea of deification, through the medium of one of the most ancient and sacred myths of the national religion. Among the myths of a dual, or double, or antigonistic form, that of Hermaphrodite is not the least singular. The early republican money long preserved the antique Italic myth of dual character, either in the form of Janus or the dioscuri; but these eventually gave way, or became secondary to types connected with the national triumphs, first to such as were connected with the families holding office in the public mint. The series of coins which were at one time termed *consular*, and thought to be issued by successive consuls, are now known to bear, not the name of the consuls, but those of the monetary triumviri of their time. For the types of this period, see page 142.

The first Roman types, of a mythic or religious character, were similar to those of the Greeks; but in the series of types of the "family coins," we find an original and truly national class of types beginning to appear, which were carried out with greater effect on the superb copper coinage of the empire. The types of the imperial coinage of Rome form at once the most striking, most interesting, and most historically valuable series of types ever engraved on a series of coins. I had almost added the most beautiful, which might also be said, but for the exquisite art with which the Greeks found means to invest even a dolphin, or a vine leaf.

An exquisite volume has yet to be produced, arranging chronologically all the most beautiful types found on Roman coins, with suitable explanatory descriptions; but I have only space to allude here to a few of the most striking of these types, and in that I shall not attempt chronological order, as involving the occupation of too much space, but merely attempt to show the general principles upon which they were adopted. Some of the most interesting types are those recording well-known historical events, such as *Judea Capta*, (Judea subdued) (Plate 7, No. 5), represented by a sitting figure, personifying the province, at the feet of the emperor, or sometimes a Roman soldier, accompanied by a palm-tree, the emblem of Judea. The rabbit was the type of Spain, the camel of Arabia, &c. The conquest of Egypt, of Dacia, of Parthia, &c., are recorded in a similar manner to that of Judæa. Equally interesting are the records of public buildings now no longer in existence, the appearance of which has been preserved on this interesting series of coins (see Plate 7, Nos. 6 and 9). The manner in which qualities, virtues, privileges, &c., are represented, such as Piety, Beneficence, Liberty, &c., is also highly characteristic and pictorial, as the following few examples will testify.

Pax. or Peace, holds an olive-branch, and a horn of plenty; or sometimes, is

beautifully expressed by a similar figure extinguishing the torch of war, against a pile of arms.

Providentia—is a figure holding a wand or rod of protection over a globe, and bearing a horn of plenty, &c. &c. Sometimes the gate of a Prætorian camp has a star over it, symbolizing the protection of heaven, and *providentia* for inscription.

Pietas (piety)—is an exquisite figure, full of expression, in the act of sacrificing at an altar. Pontifical instruments of sacrifice alone represent piety on other coins.

Fecunditas (fruitfulness)—is a finely-designed female figure, surrounded by children.

Æquitas; the equity type is a figure with a horn of plenty in one hand, and a pair of scales in the other; expressing, very ingeniously, that public protection is to be awarded by the scales of justice.

Clemency is a favourite type, and *Concord* is expressed by two figures joining hands.

A number of other sentiments and moral virtues, too numerous to mention, are expressed with equal felicity, and accompanied by concise and appropriate inscriptions; in fact, examples of this kind might be multiplied *ad infinitum;* but I must proceed at once to give a selection of Roman types, of various characters.

Conservator Augusti (the preserver of the emperor). The types accompanying this inscription are various; on a coin of Elagabalus, the stone god, *El Gabal* (see page 172, note), guarded by an eagle, is drawn in a quadriga, above which is a star, indicating the celestial origin of the protective power. Sometimes a figure of Jupiter is the principal object; beneath whose extended arm is a small figure of the emperor.

Decursio; the decursio type, (literally *course* or excursion), alluding to a military expedition of the emperor, is represented by the emperor on horseback, armed, and accompanied by one or more attendants, (see Plate 8, No. 2).

Concordia Militum, (the concord of the army,) is represented by a female holding two standards, or sometimes by two clasped hands only.

The *adlocutio* type represents the emperor addressing the legions.

The *adventus* type (the coming of the emperor), is generally an equestrian figure, represented in various ways; sometimes with a lance turned downward, in token of cessation of hostilities, after victories, and the other hand stretched forward with an amicable and protective action. The emperor is sometimes accompanied by a female figure bearing a cornucopiæ, expressing that he not only comes accompanied by victory and peace, but also by beneficence and plenty.

Fides Militum alludes to the fidelity of the soldiers, and is ingeniously expressed in various ways. *Genius Exercitus,* the genius of the army, and *Genio Populi Romani,* are also neatly expressed by appropriate figures and symbols.

Moneta, the goddess superintending the public coinage, holds a horn of plenty and a pair of scales, beneath which is a heap of coin or metal. On later coins three such figures are sometimes represented, as presiding over the three metals, copper, silver, and gold; as did the three chiefs of the mint, the triumviri monetales.

Rector Orbis, (the governor of the earth), beneath this inscription the Roman emperor is represented holding the globe in his hand.

Fortune, is accompanied by the prow of a vessel, or an oar, and bears a cornucopiæ; she is also represented in other manners.

The different types on coins struck in commemoration of emperors or empresses

are very various. On some, a statue of the deceased is born in a magnificent biga or quadriga. Claudius ordered that there should be a quadriga drawn by elephants in the funeral procession of his grandmother Livia (see page 154). On other coins is a tomb, the door of which is partially open, as just having received another tenant; sometimes the type is a magnificent funeral pile.

The *Apotheosis* types are also various, sometimes we see an empress born to heaven by an eagle, the bird of Jupiter, as in the case of those struck by Hadrian in commemoration of Sabina; sometimes in a car drawn by peacocks, symbolic of the protection of Juno.

The *Annona* type appears on coins struck on the periodical distribution of corn and other similar occasions; it is generally a female figure, holding a cornucopiæ and ears of corn. Other types of a similar class record the periods of celebrated national games, so that the *Annona* type, and these together, are curious records of the craving of the Roman populace for "panem et circences" (bread and games of the circus), which was frequently their only cry in seditious risings.

Libertas (liberty), is a female figure holding the cap and sword.

Liberalitas, this inscription is accompanied generally by the representation of the emperor in the act of distributing the periodical liberalities, a sort of maundy money upon a large scale, (see gold coin of Commodus, Plate 9, No. 5).

Brittania, the so called "Britannia" on Roman coins, beneath the inscription BRITTANIA. is not Britannia, but the goddess *Roma*, seated on a rock symbolizing the subjected province. A similar figure appears on coins recording other conquests, (see Plate 9, No. 7).

The types on colonial coins, showing oxen plowing out the boundary mark of the colony are interesting, (see Plate 8, Nos. 9 and 10). History informs us, that Commodus, in one of his maddest dreams, declared he would make Rome a colony, and name it after himself Colonia Commodiana; an assertion of the historian, which is partly born out by a coin, which represents the emperor veiled as a priest, conducting the plough drawn by oxen;* the inscription is "Colonia Lucia Antoniana Commodiana, P. M. TR. P. &c." (for some account of colonial coins, see page 165).

Securitas Reipublicæ (the safety of the republic), is represented by a bull, one of the symbols of Italy, with two stars above, probably those of the dioscuri, expressing divine protection.

Victoria—the figure of victory is very variously and beautifully represented, sometimes holding trophies of arms, or standards, or erecting a trophy, or drawn in a triumphal quadriga, or holding laurel crowns, &c.

Vota Publicæ, a public offering or sacrifice, represented by a very pictorial group, in the act of sacrificing.

On late coins, after Constantine, the initials of Christ are the most conspicuous type (see Plate 10, Nos. 9 and 10).

Roma Resurges, on the coins of some of the late emperors, expresses that she shall recover her ancient glory, by means of the emperor, who, under the protection of Minerva, raises up the fallen figure of Rome.

Not the least interesting of Roman types are the portraits of the emperors,

* The personage conducting this ceremony, that of marking the limit of the colony by a furrow, was always veiled like a priest, as it was considered a sacred ceremony.

empresses, and their families, including above 300 authentic portraits, the great majority of them being of fine and highly characteristic execution.

Such are a few of the types found on the noble series of Roman imperial coins; but the present list can but suggest the great variety and number of these interesting records of the great career of Rome: for a collection of the whole of the types of the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian would alone half fill my volume.

INSCRIPTIONS.

The inscriptions of Roman coins are more interesting than those of the Greek series, inasmuch as they are not confined to the name of a town, a magistrate, a prince, or the inflated titles of the latter, found upon the later series of Greek regal coins, but refer to a great variety of subjects connected with the government of the Roman empire, its historical events, &c. Some of the elder numismatists, not content with these legitimate sources of interest, sought further excitement in "blundered* inscriptions," or partially obliterated ones, which they prized as greater *rarities* than perfect coins; seeking to give overstrained interpretations to such accidental mistakes, many of which were ridiculous enough. On a coin of Carausius, for instance, it was thought that the name of his wife had been discovered, the inscription being made out, "F. Oriuna Aug.," while the simple fact is that a crack in the coin separated the F from the rest of the word, and an imperfect T was converted into an I, to aid the supposed discovery; the real inscription being "FORTVNA AVG.(usti)." (the fortune of Augustus), a very common inscription on late Roman coins. Another similar example is of one of the common coins of Faustina, on which the name was blundered as SOVSTI, instead of Fausti, a usual abbreviation. On this inscription German cognoscenti were racking their brains in a delightful agony of doubts and suppositions, until Klotz ridiculed them out of their learned investigations by proposing the following satirical interpretation: "Sine Omne Utilitate Sectamini Tanti Ineptias." This morbid kind of enthusiasm in this delightful science is much less common now; but still, in this, as in other branches of archæology, things possessing no value but that of rarity, are sometimes more highly prized than those that have real interest and real beauty to give them a lasting and legitimate value.

The inscriptions relating to the titles of the emperor ought perhaps to be mentioned first, as being most common. Augustus, when he permanently adopted the title of Imperator, affected to receive it only for a certain period, at the end of which it was to be renewed or withheld by the Senate, such renewal being well understood to be merely ceremonial. This form was long continued, and accounts for the inscriptions IMP.(erator) II. or III., as imperator, for the second or third time, &c. The title of Augustus, which he assumed, became greater than that of imperator, and was frequently used without the former title; it is almost invariably expressed by AVG, though sometimes by A. alone. AVG. on the coins of Antony, before the title of Augustus was established, expresses Augur, an office held by that triumvir. AVGGG. is found on coins of associated emperors, expressing three Augustus's, as CC express two Cæsars (see page 176 and 177). On some of the coins of the

* Inscriptions, blundered by the die engraver, are frequently found both on the coins of classical antiquity, and of the middle ages.

sons of Constantine we find the Greek title *Basileus* (king), assumed in addition to that of Augustus, as on a coin of Constantius, Plate 10, BA.(sileus) and AVG(ustis). And latterly DN for DOMINUS, instead of IMPERATOR.

During the empire the consulate was an office of mere form, accepted by wealthy citizens for the sake of the inaugural procession, and other empty pageantries connected with it; but it was continued to the end of the empire, consuls being elected every year, as in the time of the Republic, of which an interesting list of names has been preserved by historians, with scarcely a single omission. The emperor himself was frequently one of these honorary consuls, and we generally find the number of times of his consulship recorded on the coinage, as COS. I., or VIII., or X., as the case might be. Proconsul is generally expresesd by PROC. The office of tribune, or as it was termed in imperial times, the "tribunitian power," was also conferred on the emperors; for few of the ancient republican offices were obliterated during the empire, but added to the dignities of the emperor. The investiture with the tribunitian power was renewed periodically, like that of imperator, but more frequently and regularly, and is generally expressed by the letters TRIB.(unitia) POT.(estate), or TR. P., or sometimes only T. P.

Pontifex Maximus, or high pontiff, another of the important public offices of the republic, has even outlived the empire, being found at the present day on the coins of the Popes,* who succeeded the Emperors in the sovereignty of the eternal city. Pontifex Maximus, is generally abbreviated as PONT. MAX., or P. M. All these titles are found together in the following inscription on a coin of Claudius, thus written:—TI.(berius) CLAVD.(ius) CAESAR. AVG.(ustus) P.(ontifex) M.(aximus) TR.(ibunitia) P.(otestate) VI.(sextum) IMP.(erator) XI.(undecimum), which may be Englished, "Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, high pontiff, holding the tribunitian power for the eighth time, and imperator for the eleventh time." The title of Prince of the Roman youth, princeps juventutis, was conferred upon the Cæsar, or heir-apparent to the throne, the term Cæsar becoming subordinate to that of Augustus. It sometimes appears on the coinage abbreviated, as PRIN. IVVENT. P. P. expresses PATER PATRIÆ (father of the country), a title frequently assumed by the emperor, or conferred by a servile senate. DIVVS is found on the coins of deified emperors, sometimes written at full length and sometimes DV. II. VIR. or III. VIR. express Duum-vir or Trium-vir. On the coins of the later Cæsars, N. C. sometimes expresses N.(obilissimus) C.(æsar). On the coins of the last emperors the word Imperator appears to be superseded by Dominus, or Lord, generally written DN., as on a coin of Valens (see Plate 10), DN VALENS. P.(ater) P.(atriæ) AVG.(ustus).

The letters S. C. invariably express, Senatus Consulto, by consent of or decree of the Senate; and S. P. Q. R., S(enatus) P(opulus) Q(ue) R(omanus). "The Roman senate and people."

Inscriptions referring to the coinage and places of coining are expressed in the following manner:—

A. A. A. F.F. A(auro) A(rgento) Æ(re) F(lando) F(eriundo), allusive to the treble coinage of gold, silver, and copper.

* On the coins of Gregory XVI., now before me, it stands, "Gregorius XVI. PON. MAX A. IV. ROMA, 1834."

A.P.F. A(rgentes) P(ublico) F(eriundo).—RO. P.S RO(ma) P(ecunia) S(ignata).

S.M.R. S(ignata) M(oneta) R(omæ).—S. CONST. S(ignata) C(onstantinopoli).

After money began to be coined at Constantinople, inscriptions relating to the place of mintage are always placed in the lower portion of the coin, termed the *exergue*—many abbreviated forms of inscriptions occur which have not all been, as yet, satisfactorily explained. The following are a few of them with the suggested interpretations:—

CONOB. CO(nstantinopoli) OB(signata). CORNOB. CO(nstantinopoli) R(omæ) N(ovæ) OB(signata). COMOB. CO(nstantinopoli) M(oneta) OB(signata).

Some of the late Byzantine medallions (see Plate 10) have S. M. N., which may be S(ignata) M(oneta) N(obilis), which, if so, would prove the medallions to be a large class of coin so termed, not merely medals, as is generally supposed.

Inscriptions relating to great triumphs are generally at full, as on the coins of Trajan, recording the conquest of the Parthians, and the placing a new king upon the throne, REX PARTHIS DATVS; or on those of Vespasian, recording the reduction of Judea, JVDÆA CAPTA. The following list comprises a few of the inscriptions more commonly found on an ordinary collection of Roman coins :—

PROC. Proconsul.

PROV. DEOR. Providentia Deorum (by the providence of the Gods), frequently found on coins bearing types relating to public distributions of corn ; sometimes it is Providentia Augusti (by the providence of Augustus).

SAEC. AVR. Saeculum Aureum (the golden age).

SAL. Salus (health) ; sometimes SAL AVG. (the health of Augustus).

SEC. ORB., or PER. Securitas Orbis, or Sec. Perpetua (the security of the earth, or perpetual security), in allusion to the good government of the state.

F. is generally Filius or Filia, but sometimes Fecit, &c. &c. Felix or Felicitas, is generally written FEL.

G. E. R. Gloria exercitûs Romani (the glory of the Roman army).

G. P. R. Gloria populi Romani (the glory of the Roman people).

G. T. A. Genius Tutelaris Aegypti, or Africæ (the tutelary genius of Egypt, Africa, &c.

H. S. or II. S. stands for *Sestertius*, that is II. and semis (½), (see Page 188).

LIB. PVB. Libertas publica (the public liberty).

LVD. EQ. Ludi equestres (equestrian games), struck at the time of remarkable games of that character.

CIR. CON. Circenses Concepit, on coins commemorating the institution of games).

PAC. ORB. TERR. Pacator Orbis Terrarum (Pacificator of the Terrestrial Globe).

PART. Parthicus (Parthian).

P. R. Populus Romanus (the Roman people).

A. or AN. Annus (a year).

A. A. Apollo Augusti.

A. F. A. N. Auli Filius. Auli Nepos.

AED. P. Aedilia Potestate (the Ædilian power).

AED. CVR. Ædilis Curulis.

AET. Aeternitas.

ALM. ITAL. Alimenta Italia; ANN. AVG. Annona Augusti; or medals to commemorate distribution of corn.

The student may think this system of abbreviation rather complicated and confusing, but it is nothing to some modern examples, of which I will only cite one. On a half-crown of George I. the inscription stands, "BRVN. ET. L. DVX. S. R. I. A. TH. ET. EL "* It is quite certain, if the explanation of this inscription should be lost, that it will form an exquisite puzzle for future numismatists, and help some future Klotz to a satire against the wild interpretations that enthusiastic archæologists would doubtless suggest. But, fortunately, Mr. Hawkins has recorded the proper interpretation in a valuable work that is likely to exist as long as the coins themselves. It is as follows:—"BRVN.(svicencis) ET. L.(unenbergensis) DVX. S.(acri) R.(omani) I.(mperii) A.(rchi) TH.(esaurarius) ET. EL.(ector)." (Duke of Brunswick and Lunenberg, and Archtreasurer and Elector of the Holy Roman empire).

The word Rome does not occur, as I have stated, on Roman imperial medals, whilst that of other cities where the money was struck does occur.

In some of the provincial coins, the Romans placed beneath the principal device (in what is called the *exergue*) the name of the place where the coin was struck. On those of Antioch is, ANT. A. for Antioch, of the first mint, &c. The absence of the name, says the *Encyclopedie*, was sufficient to denote that they were struck in the capital of the known universe (l'univers connu); just as *urbs*, the city, was fully understood to mean none other than Rome.

Occasionally, fantastic variations of well-known inscriptions occur, and it is supposed that the coins on which they are found were struck by the slaves employed in the mint during the Saturnalia. On a coin of Gallienus, which has been described as a Saturnalian coin, the inscription stands "Galliena Augusta." Thus placing his name and title in the feminine gender, in allusion to his unmanly neglect of his father Valerianus, when taken prisoner by Sapor. We have similar modern examples of medallic caricatures, among which may be mentioned those of Cromwell, struck, no doubt by the Royalist party at the latter part of the civil war, or immediately after the restoration.

The S. C. on these Roman Saturnalian coins must be understood, not as "Senatus Consulto," but as "Saturni Consulto," in ridicule of the senate, for neither emperor nor senate were spared in the *lazzi* of that orgie; of which the modern Carnival, is a pretty vivid reminiscence. Much more might be said in this place on the interesting subject of Roman monetary inscriptions, but in an elementary work like the present, it is impossible to extend the treatment of any single subject beyond a very confined limit.

THE ART DISPLAYED ON THE ROMAN COINAGE.

The art displayed upon the Roman coinage is not of so high a character as that found on Grecian money of the finest period; but it possesses characteristics of its own, of great and peculiar beauty, which give it, in the history of art, a place almost as important as that of Greece.

* Humphreys' "Coins of England," page 105.

The mode of producing their earliest copper coinage of ingots was no doubt an art, learned of their more polished neighbours the Etrurians, whose skill in working copper is mentioned by ancient authors.

Etrurian skill in painted vases, sculpture in marble, or architecture, is not mentioned; but their skill in working the abundant national metal, copper, is frequently alluded to; and the *bronze candelabra* of Etrurian workmanship were celebrated at Athens in the time of Pericles.* Their knowledge of art was originally derived from the Greeks, but working upon an abundant national material—the Italian copper—they created a national and original branch of art, which soon displayed characteristics entirely its own. Just as the occurrence of an unusually abundant supply of coal, and iron stone, both in the same locality, in our midland counties, have led to the immense superiority of English cutlery, and its celebrity all over the world.

It is now the general opinion, that the arts of Etruria were originally derived from Greece; even the earliest and most grotesque styles of Etrurian art, finding their prototypes in undoubted Grecian works. Of this, the grotesque vases found at Corinth are a proof, which have the four-winged Genii, subsequently found on the earlier Etrurian works; but *previously*, on the sculptures of Nineveh. Etruria must have been colonized by the Greeks, at a much later period than Magna-Græcia, and Sicily; and in course of time its arts must have taken a direction partially their own, to be influenced, however, a second time by Grecian art, when the south of Italy was peopled by Greeks who left the mother country, when civilization was in a more advanced period. Etrurian artisans most likely cast the first Roman stips, or square pieces, and certain types were then adopted. Whilst about the time of the issue of the great *circular* copper money, the types and style of art were modified in their treatment by Greek artists from the south. There is a fine rugged grandeur about the great copper pieces of this latter epoch, which is not entirely Greek, and no doubt exhibits a reminiscence of Etrurian character.† High finish could not be attained in the mode by which this massive money was produced, that of casting, and particularly in the wholesale manner in which the work appears to have been carried on, several being cast at once, as is proved by curious specimens in the British Museum, several of which are stuck together, just as they came out of the mould, above two thousand years ago.

The grandeur and high relief of the style displayed on the uncial copper, gradually gave way to one diametrically opposite, towards the close of the issue of that class of money; when an exceeding low relief, but of more refined and careful outline, were the characteristics of the art displayed on the As and its divisions: which is well exemplified by the head of Mercury on a Sextans, or sixth of the As, in Plate 6. The same style of art, but of inferior treatment, appears on the coin No. 1, Plate 7, a portrait of Julius Cæsar. This latter coin, also marks a period of Roman art, when certain *proportions* were assumed in monetary portraits, which distinguish it from Greek art of a similar class. The introduction of more of the neck, which was generally made somewhat long and thin in proportion to the

* See Micalis' engraving of a fine bronze Etrurian candelabrum in his *Monumenti inediti*.

† See woodcut, page 131. The early gold and silver, though in a more finished style, exhibit a similar combination of styles.

head on the early imperial coinage, caused the head to occupy much less of the field of the coin than it does on Greek money; as may be exemplified by comparing the head of Augustus or that of Trajan on the same Plate (7), with the head of Alexander the Great on Plate 4, where no neck is shown, so that the head itself nearly fills the circle; as is the case also with the heads No. 10, 1, or 8, on Plate 3; and with that of Ptolemy Soter on Plate 5; in all of which, but little of the neck is shown; leaving the head itself to occupy nearly the entire field of the coin. It is this difference of proportion of the size of the head to the dimensions of the coin that creates upon the eye the first sensation of dissimilarity between the Greek and Roman styles of portraiture in the monetary art.

The head of Nero, Plate 1, No. 8, exhibits Roman art in perhaps its highest form, as far as portraiture is concerned; and the reverse, the *decursio* type, on the same Plate, exhibits, perhaps, the most favourable specimen of pictorial composition. It should be compared with the galloping quadriga, (Plate 3, No. 7), and although it cannot pretend to the almost Phidian magnificence of that composition, yet, it will be found to possess a character of its own, artistically skilful, which is very agreeable, and not devoid of a peculiar grandeur; though not of that high and ideal quality which distinguishes Greek work. It is more real, and therein consists its inferiority. The same peculiarity of proportion may be observed here, as in the portraits; the field of the coin is but sparingly occupied with the subject, while in the Greek quadriga it is nearly covered.

A coin of Trajan, (No. 8, Plate 7) exhibits the same style of composition as the *decursio*, but of a later period, when Roman art had lost the peculiar grandeur of the epoch of Nero and Claudius, but gained a refinement and finish that scarcely replace it.

The monetary art of the period of Antonines, sought to restore the high and bold relief of the earlier periods, and in some respects very successfully. This remark applies to the reverse of a medallion of Antoninus Pius (Plate 9, No. 3), as bearing a similar device to those of Nero and Trajan, which will therefore admit of closer comparison. The relief is bolder, and the composition more intricate, than on the coins of Trajan, while the field is more amply and richly filled after the Greek manner, and to Roman, and less poetic feelings, it might appear to surpass the Greek work in interest, as being more *real;* but on reference again to the Greek quadriga, it will be acknowledged that however attractive the Roman work, with its neat yet bold execution, and its interesting and accurate details of costume, manipulated with exquisite artistic skill, which attracted even the admiration of the classical Winkelman, who notices especially the medallions of Commodus, which belong to this period, yet the student will acknowledge that the rounded and flowing Roman forms, will not bear critical comparison with the nervous angularity, full of energy, action, and ideal grandeur that characterizes the Grecian work. Roman art, nevertheless, produced many works of high merit at this epoch, and had it produced nothing but the colossal busts of Lucius Verus, and Antoninus, in the Louvre, they alone would be sufficient to stamp it with a character of great excellence.

The style that succeeded this, on the Roman coinage, was that hard, but crisp, well-defined manner, which arose soon after the time of Septimus Severus—about

the time that the radiated crown first appears as an appendage to imperial portraiture. The large bronze coin of Trajanus Decius (No. 8, Plate 9), is one of the best examples of the style, which soon became less artistic, and proportionally more mechanical; of which later phase of the style, the numerous coins of Probus are a fair example. It lasted till the time of Carausius. (See Page 177, Line 11).

The last period of art worthy of note on the Roman coinage, is that of the Byzantine period, the age of Constantine, when, at the renovated Byzantium, raised to the rank of eastern capital of the Roman world under the name of Constantinople, a curious blending of Roman and Greek art produced that singular Byzantine style, which, with all its stiffness, possesses a certain indefinable charm, and even grandeur, which is very fascinating. It is the style which influenced the feeling of the early arts of the middle ages all over Europe. It is the style we see glittering in a blaze of gold in the massive illuminated gospels of the early centuries of the christian era; such as Mr. Curzon, in exploring the monasteries of the Levant, found sparkling in the gilded pages of vellum volumes, that were serving as knee-rests to the monks on the dank stone pavements. The style which still lends its peculiar and mystic character to the saints dimly frowning from their gleaming golden background in the Greek churches of savage Russia; and that M. Papeti found the monks of Mount Athos still practising in the decoration of their convent walls, in the middle of the nineteenth century. The peculiarities of this style may be studied in the examples of Plate 10; the sitting figure holding the victory, on a globe, being of the most decidedly true Byzantine character; the rigid but careful and numerous folds of the drapery; the studied and yet stiff position of the figure; and the careful finish of the minor bead-like decorations of the chair, being just such features as we find in the carved ivory dyptics, the illuminated gospels, and jewelled reliquaries from the sixth or seventh to the tenth century; and in some parts of the Levant, and in Russia, even to the present day. So deeply did Roman art, even in its latest and fallen form, influence that of the barbaric kingdoms that rose upon the ruins of the empire.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF THE CLASSIFICATION OF A CABINET—THE SELECTION OF A PARTICULAR SERIES AS THE SOLE OBJECT OF A COLLECTOR, AND ON THE FORGERIES AND IMITATIONS OF ANCIENT COINS.

THE student who has found sufficient interest in the preceding pages to read them carefully, will already have perceived the nature of the general system of classification of ancient coins, now found most convenient in a cabinet. He will at once perceive the advantage of the first grand division into Greek and Roman. The Greek he will have seen may be divided into two grand sections; the first consisting of *autonomous* coins, or those coined by independent cities or republican states; the second, of those coined by princes. The autonomous class may be advantageously collected into groups, each group containing the coins of *all the cities* and petty states within a certain well-defined tract, kingdom, or province; such as Caria, Bœotia, Macedonia, Sicily, &c. The coins of towns, &c., within each great district, might be arranged either alphabetically or numerically, the name of the *district* being in *large characters* on each drawer of the cabinet, and that of the *towns* in *smaller letters*. A certain chronological order may be preserved, by making the upper drawers of a cabinet contain the coins of those states which were the earliest to coin money; the next most ancient coining district being placed next in succession; for instance, the Lydian drawer might be the first, and other Asiatic early coining states next; then the Ægina drawer, the Bœotian, the Argian, the Macedonian, &c. In each grand district, or division, the coins of those places, the coins of which exhibit the most ancient character, should come first; and of each individual city, the most ancient coins should take precedence, descending gradually to the most recent. In the Sicilian, African, and some Asiatic districts, the coins with inscriptions in the Phœnician, or Punic characters, may be classed into separate subdivisions, though probably in many instances the work of the same artists as those with the Greek characters; for it appears pretty certain that the Carthaginians nearly always employed Greek artists to execute their money, and there is reason to believe the same of other Phœnician races.

The same order may be observed with respect to the Greek regal coins—that is to say, those bearing the names or portraits of sovereign princes; the most ancient coining kingdoms coming first, &c. &c., as detailed in the arrangement of the autonomous coins; and such series as those of the Arsacidæ and Sassanidæ of course coming last; which though, comparatively speaking, barbarian in character, are yet linked on to the Greek series by dynastic succession, by the use of the Greek character in inscriptions, or other chains of association.

The Roman series may be separated into three grand divisions—the republican, the imperial, and the imperial Greek. The republican division would comprise the

early uncial money of copper, that is to say, the As and its subdivisions; the early silver and gold of mixed Greek character; and the series termed consular, or family coins, each arranged chronologically, as far as practicable. The chronological arrangement of the imperial series, with a subdivision of colonial and provincial coins is very simple, the succession of emperors affording certain indices for the preservation of chronological order.

The imperial Greek, or those coins struck in the Grecian dependencies of Rome, both in Europe and Asia, which have a partially Greek character of art, with Greek inscriptions, &c. &c., may be arranged, like the autonomous Greek, in grand divisions of districts, such as Syria, Macedonia, the Greek islands, &c., with subdivisions for the few cities still coining autonomously. The Alexandrian series of imperial Greek is of a somewhat distinct class, which merits, perhaps, an entirely distinct division.

OF THE SELECTION OF SOME PARTICULAR CLASS OF COINS AS THE SUBJECT OF A SMALL COLLECTION.

The accumulation of a tolerably complete collection of ancient coins, embracing the whole subject, would require both opportunities and means within the reach of but few. In most cases it will therefore be desirable to look to a small *selection* from each class, formed upon the plan of the one made for the illustration of this volume, as sufficient to illustrate the subject generally; and then, the student may devote his collecting energies to some especial class occupying moderate limits, which may, by occupying solely his energies and leisure, be made more rich and complete than the same especial class in many of the greatest public collections.

The Macedonian series is admirably adopted for this purpose, as it includes the earliest regal coin known, bearing a name, and would therefore exhibit nearly all the successive peculiarities of the various phases of the Greek coinage, from nearly its earliest period to the subjection of the country to Rome; and would form a most interesting cabinet in itself.

Or, a more compact series, and one extending over the fine period of the art only, would be that of the Seleucidan dynasty of Syria; or that of the Ptolemies, occupying about the same period; the completion of either of which, would sufficiently occupy the attention of an enthusiast, a portion only of whose leisure could be devoted to the pursuit.

Some have suggested that a complete collection of the coins of Chios would exhibit specimens of every period of the art better than those of any other single state.

The coinage of Sicily, or even those of Syracuse alone, would afford ample scope for furnishing a most exquisite cabinet, exhibiting coins from nearly the earliest infancy of the art to its most splendid development.

Some separate districts of Magna-Græcia also afford ample scope, as separate and distinct fields of study and collection; as Tarentum, or Neapolis.

If the student prefers the Roman series, as more historically instructive, a very complete cabinet may be formed of the coins of the empire; those of nearly every emperor being in existence, in several classes of coin. Some have made collections of Roman imperial gold; others, of silver. The most splendid Roman series, in an artistic point of view, is that of the large bronze. But as that ceases with Gallienus,

a collector may form a more complete series of the copper coins of the Roman emperors by taking the second bronze, which will be more economical at the same time, few of that class bringing anything like the prices of the larger series.

OF FORGED COINS.*

In forming a collection of ancient coins the amateur must make himself acquainted with the aspect of forged coins, which are of two distinct classes; first, those which are the works of ancient forgers, against whose base imitations of the public money severe laws existed as early as the time of Solon; and, secondly, those modern imitations of ancient coins produced by the ingenuity of unscrupulous artists who, ever since the fifteenth century, when ancient coins first began to attract the attention of the curious, have been engaged in this fraudulent branch of manufacture, reaping a rich harvest from the unwary or uninformed collector.

Human ingenuity is so prone to evil, that scarcely had the art of coinage been developed, and money of that convenient form put in circulation, than the labours of forgers commenced; which are frequently of execution quite equal to the real coin, and much more ingenious in fabric; for the base metal is so skilfully plated with its thin coating of gold or silver, that even at the present day pieces are continually found still perfect; and I myself, very recently discovered a beautiful silver coin, which had long been the pride of a fine collection, to be an ancient forgery, as ancient as the true coins themselves. Its value is of course decreased by this discovery, but its beauty is undiminished, and it must still form a very interesting monument both of the artistic and manufacturing skill of the period. Indeed, so beautiful were some of these fraudulent imitations of the coin, that they were, as they became rare, highly prized by the ancients themselves.

There are ancient forgeries existing even of the early coins of Ægina; and Herodotus mentions other forgeries of coin as a common offence, but does not appear to believe in the wholesale forgery of gold money attributed to Polycrates, who is said to have defrauded the Spartans in a large payment of base gold coin. There are, however, existing forgeries of the early Lydian* gold, which bears the fore part of a bull and a lion, which were in circulation in many parts of Greece at that time, and which may have formed part of the very pieces with which the crafty Polycrates cheated the rugged Spartans, less used to the interchange of money transactions.

Roman forgers were less skilful than the Greeks; and most of the forged money is merely cast. On a recent excavation in France, a complete set of Roman forging implements was discovered, consisting of clay moulds, &c. It is thought that in some instances the Roman cast money of the later periods of the empire is not forged; but that that mode of fabric was adopted in some of the military expeditions, or sudden changes of government, when a more rapid mode of producing money than the usual one, was desirable. Such casts, however, whether the works of the state or of forgers, are worthless to a collector, unless they bear some rare type, or have some special ground of interest.

Of modern imitations of ancient coins, those of the Paduan forgers are the most

Beauvais and Pinkerton have both interesting remarks on forgeries of ancient coins.

celebrated; but long before that time the trade had commenced. Guilleaume du Choul, a French writer, and one of the first who studied and wrote upon the long neglected monuments of Greece and Rome, caused two medals to be engraved in his work, which have since been proved to be modern forgeries. Antoine le Pois, also, who wrote about the same time, and whose book is a fine monument of the typography of the period, cites, as antique, several coins, which were evidently of modern fabrication.

But, as I have stated, the most skilful of modern forgers were Jean Cavino and Alexander Bassiano, whose productions are generally described as the Paduan forgeries, Padua being the city where these skilful engravers exercised their profession; and who, in the beginning, had probably no intention of deceiving, but merely intended to produce beautiful copies of things so rare. These engravers became associated in 1540. The common forgeries, now all termed Paduans, are obvious cheats enough; but those of the Cavino and Bassiano are too well done to render detection easy; one of the only modes of detecting them being through the means of the inscriptions, the letters of which are generally *squatter* than in the originals. These Paduan forgers were also very careful in taking their subjects for rare (sometimes invented) reverses, from the best known historical events, or fables of antiquity.

Michael Dervieu, a Frenchman, afterwards established himself at Florence, where he very successfully counterfeited all kinds of ancient coins; but took up more especially the department of Roman *copper*, and found the manufacture a profitable trade.

Carteron, in Holland, produced beautiful forgeries, which frequently pass for Paduan.

Congornier afterwards appeared at Lyons. This forger restricted his inventions to coins of the thirty tyrants; finding that single branch of the business sufficiently profitable for his purpose. The greater portion of his forgeries of these coins were pure inventions, for those known to be genuine are but few; even the *names* of only eighteen of these thirty tyrants being mentioned by historians.

Laroch, of Grenoble, made copies of some of the most rare coins of the Pellerin cabinet, which he sold as originals.

In Madrid, a great number of imitations of this description were struck; a great portion of which were purchased for, and deposited as real, in the cabinet of the infant Don Gabriel; and in the great period of numismatic *furore* for ancient coins, which was at its height from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, Stutgart had its workshops, and Venice her ateliers, where denarii and quinarii of the Roman emperors and empresses were fabricated by the thousand. They may be generally known by a *thin* and *flat* appearance.

Galli, at Rome, struck quinarii of the emperors of the east; and Beckér, who died at Hamburg as recently as 1830, engraved a vast number of false *rare coins*, of various sizes. He struck even the curious *incused* coins of Magna-Græcia; and not contented with imitating, he invented, *ad libitum;* some of his inventions being very curious, though the most easily detected. But though the scientific skill of a few experienced collectors was not to be imposed upon, the ignorance of the great bulk of amateurs furnished Beckér with plentiful purchasers. A catalogue of this ingenious artist's disgraceful forgeries was published by Sestini, in 1826, and

completed by M. Clouet, of Verdun, in 1827. This catalogue will be very useful to collectors who have not confidence in their own judgment; for Mr. Beckér was a very industrious gentleman.

As the taste for Greek coins grew up and strengthened, a person named Caprera established a *manufactory* for them at Smyrna, and, when ready for circulation, they were buried in likely localities in the neighbourhood, to be afterwards accidentally dug up by innocent little boys, who disposed of them, at good prices, to unwary strangers, astonished and delighted to see these beautiful monuments of antiquity *deterré* under their own eyes.

A person named Saintot, at Paris, struck recently some excellent imitations of denarii, only, it is said, for amusement; but several manufactories of the same description, though on a small scale, exist at this moment in Paris, complaining sadly of the bad times. A complete list of Paduan forgeries is published in "Le Cabinet le l'amateur et de l'Antiquaire."—Paris, 1842.

An ingenious mode of imposition is also known, by which rare, in fact unique coins, are produced without forgery at all; it is effected by sawing two moderately-fine coins in two, longitudinally, and then soldering the reverse; say, of the Nero, to the back of the Antoninus, and of the Antoninus to the Nero; so producing, at one operation, two rare coins, a Nero, and an Antoninus, both with reverses, never yet *discovered.*

With these cautions to the amateur I close my attempted account of ancient coins and medals; trusting, that however imperfect the work, it may convey much useful information to the student, and induce him to exhaust more completely the mines of interesting and delightful knowledge, which I have done little more than suggest to him.

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